VOLUME 8, NUMBER 3

SUMMER 1972

Arms Control & Disarmament

A QUARTERLY BIBLIOGRAPHY WITH ABSTRACTS AND ANNOTATIONS

Prepared by the

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT BIBLIOGRAPHY SECTION

GENERAL REFERENCE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY DIVISION · REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

L.C. CARD 64–62746

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402
Price: $1 (single copy).
Subscription Price: $3.50 per year ($1 additional for foreign mailing).

PREFACE

Arms Control & Disarmament attempts to bring under bibliographic control a large and growing body of literature in an important subject area. It is prepared by the Arms Control and Disarmament Bibliography Section of the Library of Congress, through the support of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Each quarterly issue contains abstracts and annotations of current literature in the English, French, and German languages, as well as abstracts and annotations of current literature in all languages published in English translation. Author and subject indexes appear in the first three numbers of each volume, with the fourth number containing cumulative author and subject indexes.

To facilitate the use of this bibliography the title of each foreign language entry is preceded by its English translation in brackets. For the convenience of readers in the Library of Congress, locations are shown by call numbers for cataloged items and by symbols for uncataloged items and materials held by custodial units of the Library. A list of these symbols appears on the next page.

Matters of fact and opinion presented in *Arms Control & Disarmament* are solely the responsibility of the authors of the items abstracted, and their inclusion does not constitute endorsement by either the Library of Congress or the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Information about the periodicals cited can in most instances be obtained readily from standard reference works.

The bibliography is compiled from a survey of the literature received by the Library of Congress that is likely to be available in the larger research and public libraries in the United States. Sources surveyed include trade books, monographs, selected government publications, publications of national and international organizations and societies, and approximately 1,200 periodicals. With the exception of materials delayed in arriving at the Library, the literature cited has usually been published in the 3 months preceding the month in which a number is sent to press. Entries are chosen under the assumption that arms control and disarmament is a subject area encompassing related topics such as weapons development and basic factors in world politics. The coverage is not exhaustive, however. It excludes articles in newspapers and the reporting of day-to-day events in newsmagazines.

The abstracts are written by the Arms Control and Disarmament Bibliography Section, except that abstracts or summaries published with the articles to which they relate are, with the permission of their copyright owners, sometimes used verbatim or in modified form and are designated as "abstract supplied" or "abstract supplied, modified."

Library of Congress Location Symbols

(Uncataloged and Unclassified Materials)

Chi Kor	**Chinese and Korean Section**
DLC	**Books in process**
Hebr	**Hebraic Section**
Japan	**Japanese Section**
LL	**Law Library**
Micro	**Microfilm Reading Room**
Nr East	**Near East Section**
N&CPR	**Newspaper and Current Periodical Room**
Sci RR	**Science Reading Room**
Slav Rm	**Slavic Room**

CONTENTS

	Page
Preface	iii
The international political environment	
Basic factors	253
Foreign policies	263
Tension areas	284
The strategic environment	
Modern war	290
Weaponry and technology	291
Defense policies and strategies	297
Consequences of defense policies and war	316
Institutions and means for the maintenance of peace	
International law	327
International organization	330
International peace and security forces	335
Other means	335
Arms control: general discussion	
Historical background	339
General analyses	340
Comprehensive approaches	344
Arms control: specific problems and measures	
Reducing the risk of war	346
Conventional arms transfers	351
Nuclear proliferation	352
Chemical and biological weapons	354
Strategic arms limitation	355
Regional arrangements	357
Special environments	365
Enforcement of agreements	368
Consequences of arms control	372
Other problems and measures	372
Author index	375
Subject index	380

THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

BASIC FACTORS

1025
Beaton, Leonard. THE STRATEGIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES FACING AMERICA, BRITAIN AND CANADA. [London] British-North American Committee [1971] 21 p.
E744.B432

Contents.--The context.--The relationships: The Anglo-American relationship. The Canadian-American relationship. The Anglo-Canadian relationship.--The challenges: The union of Europe. The nuclear confrontation. Nuclear proliferation. The future of Asia. The conflicts of the Third World.

Surveys the major international problems and prospects of the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada, the three nations which "have formed a conscious core in a western alliance which, taken all in all, has been the main directing force in the world order." Beaton thinks that alliance and the willingness of each nation to undertake necessary commitments to be in decline. He believes that the relationships between the three countries are "in serious difficulties" and that the greatest issue facing all three is the question of European integration. The possible danger of Soviet-American bilateral contacts, which has so far been avoided in the conduct of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, is that they "could gradually lead to a neglect of the primacy of Atlantic security in American policy." Withdrawal from international involvements works against the devising of a system of effective safeguards against nuclear proliferation. Noncommunist Asian nations must be convinced that Western retrenchment will not be total and permanent or they will not hold together for the West. Hard decisions must be made about the West's strategic and political interests in developing regions. "The real problem for the West is that the institutions of cooperation established in an era of high responsibility conceal the fact that the habit of cooperation has in large measure disappeared in political and strategic matters."

1026
Bechtoldt, Heinrich. [CHINA'S DOUBLE FRONT IN NEW YORK] Chinas Doppelfront in New York. Aussenpolitik, v. 22, Nov. 1971: 637-640.
D839.A885, v. 22

The Chinese Communists will use the United Nations as a continuing forum for polemics against both the Soviet Union and the United States in a bid to assume leadership of the Third World states. This maneuver will restrict the Soviet freedom of action, for Moscow will dare undertake nothing that will benefit either of its rivals or diminish its credibility in the Third World. The United States, on the other hand, now spared the necessity of developing a defensive posture against a unified Communist front, will gain political maneuverability and strength, especially as it reduces its commitment in Southeast Asia. This is the line that Henry Kissinger urged on the President.

1027
Brewster, Kingman. REFLECTIONS ON OUR NATIONAL PURPOSE. Foreign affairs, v. 50, Apr. 1972: 399-415.
D410.F6, v. 50

Analyzes American self-doubt, a national trauma characterized by a loss of self-confidence. Brewster believes that a new and vigorous effort must be made to make politics and economic opportunity genuinely open, insisting on both equality and accountability. At the same time the United States needs a redefinition of its place on the world scene. Brewster cautiously predicts increased international cooperation, even the emergence of some "supra-national institutions with some of the attributes of government" to deal with satellite communications, pollution control, and international capital regulation. He emphasizes the need for Government leadership that will give high priority to seeking international solutions to international problems employing American power and respect for law to create viable transnational institutions. To face the challenge of the future Americans must "take some risks in order to invite others to pool their sovereignty with ours on matters which none of us can control alone."

1028
Brown, Neville. EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY: MYTH OR REALITY? New Middle East, no. 40, Jan. 1972: 25-27. illus.
DS63.1.N48, 1972

Considers the evidence of increased cooperation among the countries of Western Europe and questions the ability of these states to wield allied influence in world politics, especially in the Middle East. Brown does not expect any powerful political unity to emerge in Western Europe in the near future, but he does not rule out the possibility of an influential alliance over the long run.

1029
Brucan, Silviu. THE DISSOLUTION OF POWER; A SOCIOLOGY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND POLITICS. New

York, Knopf, 1971. 388 p.
JX1251.B78
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface.--The theory and its practical use.--International relations and international politics.--The particularities of international relations.--The origins of politics.--The essentials of international politics.--What keeps nations together.--A sociological theory of foreign policy.--The concept and process of integration.--A new type of revolution?--The world dialectics of integration.--Speculation about the future.

Envisions a twenty-first century where men will neither hold nor crave power. Brucan predicts the emergence of a world community in which cleavages of class and race disappear. He characterizes his approach as a symbiosis of Marxism--the general theory of society--and cybernetics--the modern breakthrough in scientific methodology. Without a scientific methodology, Marxism is inefficient; without Marxism, cybernetics is sterile. Together, these disciplines, and these alone, will enable man to acquire a comprehensive view of the international system in interaction with its environment.

1030
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. PUBLICATIONS OF THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE, 1910-1967, INCLUDING INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION, 1924-1967. Compiled by Jane A. Hannigan. New York, 1971. 229 p.
Z6461.C27
Includes bibliographies.

A bibliography of over 1600 publications of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, including a chronological title list of all issues of International Conciliation since 1924.

1031
Conner, Robert L., Joan Vernikos-Danellis, and Seymour Levine. STRESS, FIGHTING AND NEUROENDOCRINE FUNCTION. Nature (London) v. 234, Dec. 31, 1971: 564-566. illus. Q1.N2, v. 234

Reports the results of an experiment to test the relationship between plasma concentrations of adrenocorticotrophic hormones (ACTH) and adrenocortical steroids, fighting behavior, and shock-induced stress. Other investigators have reported that fighting behavior in mice and electric shock in rats and mice evoke increased pituitary-adrenal activity. In these tests, however, the combination of shock and fighting behavior produced lower ACTH levels, suggesting that fighting may serve as a sort of regulatory mechanism whereby the internal pituitary-adrenal response to stress is dampened and thus prevented from having damaging consequences for the organism.

1032
Coplin, William D. THE STATE SYSTEM EXERCISE. [With the assistance of J. Martin Rochester. Chicago] Markham Pub. Co. [1971] 25 l. illus. (Learning packages in international relations, 1)
JX1291.C64
Bibliography: leaves 4-5.
"Developed at the International Relations Program, Maxwell School, Syracuse University; William D. Coplin, Director."

Contents.--pt. 1. Analyzing patterns of stability in the international political system: Introduction. Theories of stability in the international political system. Bibliography. Analysis activities.--pt. 2. Participant's manual for the state system exercise: Introduction. Cycle I: the classical state system. Cycle II: the modern state system. Cycle III: the contemporary international system. Forms.

Presents games and simulation exercises for evaluating basic theoretical concepts of international relations like "power, balance of power, collecti ve security, balance of terror, bipolarity and multipolarity." The three eight-nation game models present simulations approximating conditions of the international systems of the eighteenth century, the turn of the last century, and the immediate present.

1033
Dadrian, Vahakn N. FACTORS OF ANGER AND AGGRESSION IN GENOCIDE. Journal of human relations, v. 19, 3d quarter, 1971: 394-417.
H1.J55, v. 19

Case study of an alleged instance of genocide, the 1915 Turkish massacre of large numbers of Armenians living within the Ottoman Empire. Dadrian attributes the Turkish attacks to a combination of factors--the anger aroused in the Turkish masses by galling political, military, and economic frustrations; the presence of culturally conditioned inhibitions among the Turkish population that prevented the discharge of this anger in constructive directions; and an ill-timed decision by the Turkish authorities to begin forced removal of the Armenian population. Anger is a primary reaction to frustration and may be viewed as a condition of readiness to strike aggressively at the thwarting agency, or, as in this case, when the real source of frustration cannot be reached, at a substitute.

1034
Drouin, Patrice. [1971: AN EXPLOSIVE YEAR] 1971: une année explosive. Entreprise, no. 851, Dec. 30, 1971: 10-15. illus.
HC271.E5, 1971

Chronicles international events in 1971 and foresees the prospects for 1972. Among the major topics under review are Great Britain's entry into the Common Market and the relations between the Soviet Union, United States, and China. The results of an international Gallup poll indicate the beliefs that in 1972 U.S. power will diminish while China's will grow and that the chances for peace in the world are not very good.

1035
Enos, J. L. A MODEL OF THE "PERMANENT REVOLUTION." British journal of political science, v. 2, Jan. 1972: 69-81. illus.
JA8.B7, v. 2

Designs a model of "permanent revolution" demonstrating how a revolutionary ideology, gaining control of the government of one country, moves through the world community of nation-states. For his basic model, Enos assumes that at any given moment every country will belong to one of three categories: those which have not adopted the ideology; those which have and inspire others to emulate them; and those which have but no longer inspire. The movement is always from the first to the second to the third category and is irreversible. The ideology will be more successful if the tendency of unaffected countries to become revolutionized is greater than the tendency of revolutionized countries to cease inspiring. Eventually all countries will belong to either the first or the third category, "the destination of the permanent revolution." Enos includes in this basic model allowances for the varied susceptibility of countries to the ideology. He tests the behavior of the model against the actual course of fascism in the period 1920-1950 and finds large variations between the predicted values and the actual values. Applying the model to the advent of Communist regimes, Enos finds such disparate percentages of all countries ultimately revolutionized by Communism that "clearly, at this stage in the unfolding of the process, one cannot predict with any hope of accuracy its ultimate extent."

1036
Fromm, Erich. THE ERICH FROMM THEORY OF AGGRESSION. New York times magazine, Feb. 27, 1972: 14-15, 74, 76, 80-81, 84, 86. illus.
AP2.N6575, 1972

Compares concepts of aggressive energy, instinctive animal passion, and conditioned responses in several theories of human aggression. Fromm looks closely at the concept of character. In his opinion, instinct provides a defensive aggression, but "man's 'extra aggression,' that which can make him more destructive and cruel than most mammals is rooted in his character." Observing that there are wide individual differences in character, Fromm describes three character structures--sadistic, necrophilic, and bored--and interprets the roots of their aggressive behavior. Boredom, he suggests, may be "the most important source of aggression and destructiveness today." Further study should be devoted to the pathologically bored.

1037
Geyer, Rolf. [DÉTENTE, NEUTRALITY, SECURITY] Entspannung, Neutralität, Sicherheit. Osnabrück, Fromm [1970] 76 p. (Texte + [i.e. und] Thesen, 5)
D849.5.G49
Bibliography: p. 65-76.

Contents.--Introduction.--Tensions and tension elements.--On the concept of neutralism.--Pointers on political bargaining.--Permanent order and détente.--The East-West relationship in the spring of 1970.--Neutralization of Europe?--Virulence of neutralistic tendencies.--Summary.--Bibliography.

Maintains that détente and neutrality can prejudice security in the East-West confrontation. In Communist theory any international order short of world communism must be of limited duration, Geyer claims, adding that détente as envisaged by the Communists is a tactical tool. Neutrality is ambiguous, costly, and doubtfully effective. Nonalinement does not assure ideological neutrality but it does require a plausible and therefore expensive defense structure. The neutrality of states occupying geostrategically vital real estate has historically not been respected. Neutralist tendencies, Geyer continues, tend to undermine state security. The best policy for the West is a realistic and dynamic policy of détente multiplying contacts with the East in areas not depending on a one-sided definition of détente and peaceful coexistence.

1038
Hilton, Gordon. A CLOSED AND OPEN MODEL ANALYSIS OF EXPRESSIONS OF HOSTILITY IN CRISIS. Journal of peace research, v. 8, nos. 3/4, 1971: 249-262. illus.
AS9.J6, v. 8

The Stanford group [Stanford Studies in International Conflict and Integration], directed by Robert North, has provided useful data on the 1914 crisis, and this facilitates the testing of assumptions which may eventually form the basis of a Theory of Crisis. In this paper, the author deals with the behavioural mechanisms which lie behind expressions of hostility. Two basic models are tested. The first, a closed model, examines the proposition that the level of hostility expressed on any particular day is dependent upon the levels expressed on the previous days and on this only. The testing provides some evidence to support this proposition. The second analysis employs an open model which tests the further proposition that the level of hostility expressed on any particular day is dependent upon previous days' expressions of hostility and the level of perceptions of hostility. No evidence is found to suggest that there is a relationship between expressions of hostility and perceptions of hostility. Various lags are tried to explain this counter intuitive finding. Peripheral hypotheses concerning the "reaction time" (rate of response to stimulus) of decision making are tested. It is found that reaction time decreases as the crisis becomes more intense. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1039
Höivik, Tord. ON THE METHODOLOGY OF PEACE RESEARCH. Journal of peace research, v. 8, nos. 3/4, 1971: 299-303. illus.
AS9.J6, v. 8

"A slightly revised version of a paper presented at the International Political Science Association Round Table on Peace Research, Louvain, Belgium, September 15-16 1971. It may be identified as PRIO-publication no. 23-15."

The peace researcher makes important decisions throughout the research process from an array of alternatives on formulation of the precise research task through selection of research techniques to the final conclusions. The decisions made at each stage have a direct bearing on the outcome of the research and on policymaking. The researcher should explain the reasons for each choice so that his political stand is revealed. Since "the researcher should reason from high-level norms, such as the basic human rights, rather than from the political means he happens to trust," the scrutiny of "central norms, their theoretical consequences . . ., and in general a linking-up of social science with the fields of moral philosophy, theology, and law" are important research activities.

1040
Hughes, Thomas L. WHOSE CENTURY? Foreign affairs, v. 50, Apr. 1972: 476-487.
D410.F6, v. 50

The governments of the twentieth century vary widely in their ideology, social philosophy and economic resources, as they vary in their relations to major world tension areas. They form shifting patterns of agreement and disagreement in regard to the superpowers and to each other. Most are anxious and in doubt. "All are betting on different answers to the question: Whose Century?" While the answer is elusive, there is reason to predict "the steady reduction of the old-style government in the Western world without a symmetrical or compensatory development elsewhere." Western democracies are losing citizen deference and patriotic respect. As the governmental structure loses support, so the concept of formal intergovernmental relations becomes less important and tendencies to isolationism are observed in the West. In the East and South, however, bureaucratic governments will thrive and interact although unsettling elements may be present. The implications are large and still uncertain.

1041
[INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS: CIVIL WARS AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS] Les conflits internationaux: guerres civiles et conflits transnationaux. Revue française de science politique, v. 21, July 1971: 817-910. JA11.R6, v. 21

Contents.--Actors and strategies in international conflicts, by Jean-Pierre Derriennic.--Northern Ireland: integration or secession? by Jacques Leruez.--Bangladesh: civil war or decolonization? by Philippe Devillers.--Nigeria: class struggle or "nationalitary" conflict? by Philippe Lucas.--Palestine: national liberation or revolutionary war? by Louis-Jean Duclos.

Articles analyzing conflicts in several countries throughout the world. Each essay traces the history of the conflict, describes the present situation and political alinements, and forecasts the implications for the international community.

1042
Johnson, F. N., and Serena Wormington. EFFECT OF LITHIUM ON REARING ACTIVITY IN RATS. Nature (London) v. 235, Feb. 2, 1972: 159-160. illus.
Q1.N2, v. 235

Reports the results of a test of the effect of lithium chloride on the "vertical rearing component" of rat behavior. There have been reports that lithium salts inhibit aggression in several species of animals. Use of the chemical to treat manic states and recurrent depression in humans is already established. In these tests, rearing frequency, but not rearing height, was markedly reduced by the subcutaneous injection of lithium chloride. The mechanism is unknown, but an "hypothesis of reduced stimulus control of behavior under the influence of lithium is consistent with an antiaggressive action of the drug and also with what is known about the action of certain other agents (for example chlorpromazine) used in the control of manic states."

1043
Jordan, Robert S., comp. EUROPE AND THE SUPERPOWERS; PERCEPTIONS OF EUROPEAN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. Boston, Allyn and Bacon [1971] 302 p.
JN12.J65
Bibliography: p. 290-293.

Contents.--Foreword, by Andrew W. Scott.--Introduction, by Robert S. Jordan.--Prologue--an analysis of contemporary European international politics, by Pierre Hassner and Robert S. Jordan.--pt. 1. The political involvement of the superpowers in Europe: The political involvement of the United States in Europe, by Robert S. Jordan. The political involvement of the Soviet Union in Europe, by Robert Ranger.--pt. 2. The central problem of central Europe: Europe east of the Elbe, by Pierre Hassner. Europe west of the Elbe, by Pierre Hassner.--pt. 3. The growth of nationalistic particularism in central and eastern Europe (including the Balkans): the contemporary West German national outlook, by Waldemar Besson. Nationalistic interests in the Balkans and eastern Mediterranean, by Viktor Meier.--pt. 4. Can Europe be united? Variations on the continental pattern: The dilemma of Great Britain, by Ian Taylor. The special conditions of the Baltic subregion, by Nils Andren.--Epilogue--Economic and political integration: from Schuman Plan to the European Communities, by Harold K. Jacobson and Robert S. Jordan.--Chronology of major European developments.

Essays explaining the European reactions to massive postwar Soviet and American intervention in Europe. The European aspects of the global struggle between the superpowers are analyzed and the reconstruction of the intra-European ties which were destroyed by the war and the subsequent Soviet-American competition is examined. The division of Germany is considered to be a reflection of the East-West division of Europe and a key element in the political future of Europe and the future role of the superpowers. Jordan seeks a "definition of Europe in the 1970's" and evaluates the potential role of Great Britain and the Baltic region in a European integration movement.

1044
Kahn, Herman. THE EMERGING JAPANESE SUPERSTATE; CHALLENGE AND RESPONSE. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall [1970] 274 p. illus.
HC462.9.K3
Bibliography: p. 247-250.

Contents.--Prefatory note on the title.--Foreword.--An overview of the rising sun.--Some comments on the Japanese mind.--The post-World War II Japanese economic miracle.--Japan Inc.: the future of the economic miracle.--The emerging Japanese superstate.--The Japanese challenge.--Appendix.--Chapter notes.--Bibliography.--Index.

Argues that by 1980 Japan will have achieved "giant economic, technological and financial stature, that very likely it will become financially and politically powerful in international affairs and that eventually it is likely to strive to become a military superpower as well." Kahn suggests that a very important turning point in the twentieth century will be Japan's decision whether or not to acquire nuclear weapons. He believes Japan should continue to seek protection under the American nuclear umbrella in lieu of its own nuclear forces. The appendix presents chronologies of Japanese history, remarks on Japanese national character and social attitudes, and statistics on the Japanese economy.

1045
Keim, Willard D. NATIONS AND CONFLICT INDIVIDUALITY. Journal of peace research, v. 8, nos. 3/4, 1971: 287-292. illus.
AS9.J6, v. 8

Nations do not learn patterns of conflict behavior; rather, conflict behavior is more an effect of national power. An empirical analysis of conflict configuration among nations shows that nations do not become gradually politicized into international conflict behavior but that power is a necessary condition for an individualistic pattern of conflict. In conclusion, ". . . conflict roles are not merely determined by the power attributes of nations, . . . some nations take a more individualistic stance toward conflict than others on the basis of their alignment decisions."

1046
Kennan, George F. [REALISTIC WORLD POLITICS] Realistische Weltpolitik. Neue Gesellschaft, v. 18, Nov. 1971: 782-793. illus.
H5.N36, v. 18

An interview with Professor George F. Kennan, in which he gives his appraisal of Soviet intentions vis-a-vis Europe and the response to them. Kennan holds that Communist ideology no longer plays a significant role in the formulation of Soviet policy, which is shaped by big-power realities. The Soviet Union harbors no militarily aggressive designs against Western Europe but only seeks to maintain the status quo. Kennan does admit that the Soviet naval buildup may be a cause for concern. The Soviet Union may no longer be interested in the dissolution of NATO or in the advent of a worldwide financial crisis, he continues, for in the former case the reason for the Soviet hold on Eastern Europe would be weakened and, in the latter, the Chinese would be the only gainers. Renouncing the philosophy of roll-back, Kennan recommends that the West pursue a policy of nonintervention and seek mutual balanced force reductions. For these reasons he supports the German Ostpolitik.

1047
Kintner, William R. THE ESSENCE OF STRATEGY: SOVIET AND CHINESE COMMUNIST STYLE. Revue militaire générale; general military review, Nov. 1971: 477-489. U2.R48, 1971
Includes summaries in French and German.

Argues that Sino-Soviet military strategy is linked to political and psychological actions and that the integration of these actions has been largely responsible for the extension of the influence of the Soviet system and for the emergence of Communist China as a major power. Kintner holds that Western strategists and analysts have failed to understand the importance of this integration, noting that in most Western countries there is insufficient integration of strategy among the military services and almost no integration of economic, political, psychological, and military efforts. He contends that the West has been unable to achieve a consensus as to the nature of the Communist strategy and suggests that this may be overcome by an exchange of views among Western strategists, professionals, and writers.

1048
Klocke, Helmut. [THEORY AND REALITY OF CONVERGENCE] Theorie und Realität der Konvergenz. Aussenpolitik, v. 22, Dec. 1971: 713-724.
D893.A885, v. 22

Examines the validity of the Western theory of the convergence of the economic, social, and--to some extent--political systems of capitalism and socialism. Klocke finds that while the Communists denounce the theory as anti-Communist propaganda, some Western scholars eagerly adopt it as a way of

avoiding a conflict between the two systems. Peaceful coexistence need not, however, presuppose the validity of the convergence theory. Despite the differences in the two systems, primarily over the irreconcilable issue of the ownership of the means of production, certain features are common to both a capitalist market economy and a Socialist centrally-planned economy. While these common features do not lessen the political antithesis between East and West, Klocke believes that they can serve as the common ground for the discussion of mutual problems.

1049
Krysmanski, Hans J. [SOCIOLOGY OF CONFLICT. MATERIALS AND MODELS] Soziologie des Konflikts. Materialien und Modelle. [Reinbek bei Hamburg] Rowohlt [1971] 250 p. (Rowohlts deutsche Enzyklopädie, 362) HM136.K8
Bibliography: p. 236-243.

Contents.--"Several definitions of the sociological notion of conflict."--Starts at conflict sociology.--Conflicts of power as a "struggle for existence."--Justice and order in bourgeois society.--The functionalistic opening up of social consciousness: communication.--The systems theory of the opening up of social consciousness: control.--On the practice of conflict- and peace research.--The association of conflicts as "theory." --About the author.--Bibliography.--Name and subject index.

Presentation of various views on and aspects of conflict sociology, which Krysmanski thinks an assortment of materials and models rather than a unified discipline.

1050
Lodgaard, Sverre. NOTES ON FUTURE PERSPECTIVES FOR EUROPE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF JOINT VENTURES. Bulletin of peace proposals, v. 2, no. 4, 1971: 365-371. JX1901.B83, v. 2
"This article is revised edition of a paper presented to the conference arranged by the International Institute for Peace, Vienna, 19-21 February 1971, on 'Peace and Security in Europe and all-European Cooperation'. It can be identified as PRIO publication No. 22-17."

The highly polarized postwar East-West system now offers hope for future change. Ordinary, routine events of international intercourse are growing immune to disruption from extraordinary, nonroutine events like the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. The two alternatives for change are the resolution of outstanding East-West conflicts while preserving the existing military blocs so that each one can concentrate on further integrating itself, or establishment of an all-European system of security and cooperation, with a common political focus and without the existing military blocs. This system appeals to small and middle powers because of the leverage it would give them against the big powers. Joint economic ventures of West European transnational corporations and East European nations are producing asymmetric dependence relationships, with the West supplying technology and talent and the East labor and materiel. The extension of the transnational corporation to Eastern Europe is a potentially dangerous development, and each side should decide respectively to moderate its dominance and to control domination it will accept. An all-European institution is needed to survey and canalize joint ventures and to study means for achieving a more symmetrical relationship.

1051
Mehnert, Klaus. [CHINA AFTER THE STORM. REPORT AND COMMENTARY] China nach dem Sturm. Bericht und Kommentar. Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanst. [1971] 348 p. illus.
DS711.M37

Contents.--Preface.--Reports.--Commentaries.--Illustrations.--Documents.--Index.

Description and analysis of the author's recent trip to China. Mehnert sees no danger of Chinese territorial expansionism. Although Peking may continue its zealous missionary work in the Third World, it will not risk its achievements at home for revolution abroad. Chinese leadership is primarily interested in developing its own resources. For this reason it needs secure boundaries of the kind that could be provided by a ring of friendly, or militarily impotent, small or middle-sized states from Korea to Afghanistan. Mehnert warns that unless Europe achieves a measure of unity and maintains a high level of technology and productivity the oriental world (for the Chinese are no less industrious than the Japanese) will make Europe an economic appendage of Asia.

1052
Morrison, Donald G., and Hugh M. Stevenson. POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN INDEPENDENT BLACK AFRICA: MORE DIMENSIONS OF CONFLICT BEHAVIOR WITHIN NATIONS. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 15, Sept. 1971: 347-368. illus. JX1901.J6, v. 15
"This study is part of the research carried out by the African National Integration Project at Northwestern and York Universities."

This article reviews empirical research on political instability, or conflict behavior within nations, by summarizing and comparing existing quantitative investigations of these phenomena in national political systems and attempts to clarify conceptual approaches to the study of political instability, conflict, and violence. Empirical relationships between different kinds of political instability in 32 contemporary sub-Saharan African nations are investigated. Preliminary conclusions drawn about the African data are: (1) Political instability can be sharply distinguished from conflict in political systems; (2) That instability can be conceptualized as the result of conflict

involving elites, communal groups, and mass movements; (3) Elite and communal instability are well defined independent dimensions of political instability; (4) The initial occurrence of these instabilities in African nations increases the likelihood of their reoccurring later; and (5) There are diffusion effects in patterns of instability in African nations, such that elite instability tends to increase the likelihood of subsequent communal instability, and both elite and communal instability tend to increase the likelihood of subsequent turmoil. (Abstract supplied)

1053
THE NEW EUROPE. International Journal, v. 27, winter 1971/72: 1-133.
D839.I5, v. 27
Entire issue devoted to Europe.

Contents.--The new Europe: from cold war to hot peace, by Pierre Hassner.--Towards a new political order: German Ostpolitik and the East-West realignment, by Wolfgang Wagner.--Pan-European perspectives after the Berlin agreement, by Karl E. Birnbaum.--European arms control; how, what, and when? by Walter C. Clemens.--L'évolution des partis communistes de l'Europe de l'Est et de l'Ouest, by François Fejtö.--Political aspects of an enlarged European Community, by Roy Pryce.--Europe: Canada's last chance? by Peter C. Dobell.

Articles dealing with the current European situation with particular emphasis on East-West relations and the progress of the cold war. Wagner suggests that any success of the Ostpolitik will be due to the assumption of a new Westpolitik by Soviet leaders. Birnbaum examines the factors contributing to progress in East-West negotiations.

1054
Niemeyer, Gerhart. IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF THE NEW CHINA POLICY. Orbis, v. 15, fall 1971: 808-817. D839.068, v. 15

Illegitimate Communist governments, which, like Peking, do not share the values and outlooks of their subject peoples and consider themselves to be bases for the attainment of ultimate ideological goals, engender an endemic peacelessness in today's world because "nothing can assure [them] of ultimate security as rulers; they are bound to govern in a perpetual state of anxiety that turns outward in irremediable hostility against the world." Consequently it is unlikely that America's new China policy, which stems less from juridicomoral considerations than from 19th-century Realpolitik, will give the United States a greater number of options in global diplomacy. Washington's China policy will probably weaken the U.S. alliance system and erode America's anti-Communist determination. This in turn will make it more difficult for the Nixon administration to acquire appropriations for adequate armaments and troop deployments. Eventually, the United States may find its will to maintain forces against the rapid Soviet strategic weapons buildup progressively eroding.

1055
NIXON: FOLLIES AND REALITIES. Spectator, v. 228, Jan. 8, 1972: 36. AP4.S7, v. 228

President Nixon's foreign policy seems at times to be realistic, and at other times emotional and almost self-contradictory. In promoting the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks he has wisely demonstrated "the common sense of doing a deal with the only other power in the world which can match [the United States] in expenditure on nuclear weaponry." On the other hand, in a search for something beyond power, he visited Romania to "show the Russians that he is good at brinkmanship." His dealings with China have shown a similar blend of reality and idealism. "It would be a great pity if [President Nixon] sacrificed the rewards of realism by continuing for too long to pretend that he can be nationalistic and moralistic at the same time."

1056
Northedge, F. S., and M. J. Grieve. A HUNDRED YEARS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. London, Duckworth, 1971. 397 p. illus. ([The hundred years series]) JX1391.N57
Bibliography: p. [371]-380.

Contents.--Preface.--The epoch of peace.--Growth of the European powers.--Early imperialism.--Later imperialism.--The approach to the First World War.--The morrow of Armageddon.--War and politics in the Far East.--The League of Nations.--The interwar commonwealth.--The twenty-year armistice.--Impact of the Second World War.--Birth and death of the cold war.--The United Nations and world politics.--The United Nations and world economics.--The transcendence of sovereignty.--Conclusion.--Index.

Studies the development of the international system over the last one hundred years, examines state behavior within that system, and concludes that the study of history does not yield lessons which can be applied profitably to international situations today. Northedge and Grieve point out "the mischief wrought by lessons of history being wrongly applied" in the framing of postwar collective security arrangements since 1870, particularly in the cases of the League of Nations Covenant and the United Nations Charter.

1057
[PERCEPTIONS OF INTIMIDATION AS A FACTOR IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS] Bedrohungsvorstellungen als Faktor der internationalen Politik. Mit Beiträgen von . . . Gesamtred.: Karl Kaiser. Red. der Diskussionsbeiträge: Karl Kaiser und Peter Menke-Glückert. [Düsseldorf] Bertelsmann Universitäts-

verlag [1971] 313 p. (Jahrbuch für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung, Bd. 1, 1971)
JX1952.B384

Contents.--The missions of peace research and this yearbook, by Karl Kaiser.--pt. 1. Natural science and peace research, by Klaus Gottstein. Perceived intimidation as a factor in international politics. An introduction, by Carl F. Freiherr von Weizsäcker. The policy of deterrence and social order. On the problem of changing society, by Karl W. Deutsch. The threat and proscription of force as problems of international policy, by Swidbert Schnippenkoetter. On the analysis of intimidation politics in international relations, by Dieter Senghaas. Deterrence and deterrence policy. Critical observations on Dieter Senghaas' essay, by Josef Joffe. The interaction and conflict function of intimidation perceptions in interstate policy as scientific problems, by Gerhard Wettig. Defense without threats. Praxeologies of gradual disarmament and nonviolent defense, by Theodor Ebert. Pedagogical and didactic considerations on overcoming imagined intimidation in the educative processes, by Volker Gold, Roland Koch, Christel Küpper, and Matthias R. Lobner.--pt. 2. Research and promotional problems in peace research in the Federal Republic [of Germany], by Helmut Rosenfeld.--Appendix.

Lectures and discussions of the first scientific colloquium of the Study Group for Peace and Conflict Research held in May 1970 at Munich in the Max Planck Institute for Physics and Astrophysics. The papers represent an attempt to provide an understanding of the various viewpoints and disciplines involved in peace research as the first step in the elaboration of a transition strategy in this discipline. This strategy must assure survival by avoidance of catastrophe while at the same time effecting a structural change in the deterrent system that will lead to a secure peace. The book contains additional reports and documents illustrating recent political and promotional developments in peace research.

1058
Perez-Guerrero, Manuel. UNCTAD'S CONTRIBUTION TO A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE. Geneva, Graduate Institute of International Studies, 1970. 26 p. (Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales. Collection Conférences, No. 4)
HF1410.P47

Partial contents.--The establishment of UNCTAD. --UNCTAD's objectives.--UNCTAD and development of the Third World.--A new international division of labour.--Trade expansion and economic integration among the developing countries.--Responsibility of the developing nations.--Structural reforms.

Discusses the role of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in fostering world peace, justice, and progress, focusing on its programs of international trade and for the development of the Third World. The birth of UNCTAD, its objectives, and examples of concrete action like the organization's work toward the elimination of non-tariff barriers and creation of a more rational international division of labor are examined. Perez-Guerrero emphasizes that the industrialized countries "should . . . transfer to the developing countries not only financial resources to the fullest extent that their economies permit, but should likewise facilitate the transfer of technical knowledge on favourable conditions." He concludes that the developing countries must institute structural reforms in order to improve the condition of their peoples.

1059
THE PHYSIOLOGY OF AGGRESSION AND DEFEAT; PROCEEDINGS OF A SYMPOSIUM HELD DURING THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE IN DALLAS, TEXAS, IN DECEMBER, 1968. Edited by Basil E. Eleftheriou and John P. Scott. New York, Plenum Press, 1971. 312 p. illus.
QP401.P53 1971
Includes bibliographies.

Contents.--Symposium: the physiology of aggression and defeat; an introduction, by Basil E. Eleftheriou and J. P. Scott.--Theoretical issues concerning the origin and causes of fighting, by J. P. Scott.--Steroid hormones and aggressive behavior in mammals, by F. H. Bronson and C. Desjardins.--Effects of aggression and defeat on brain macromolecules, by Basil E. Eleftheriou.--Isolation, reactivity and aggression: evidence for an involvement of brain catecholamines and serotonin, by Annemarie S. Welch and Bruce L. Welch.--Aggression, noxiousness, and brain stimulation in unrestrained Rhesus monkeys, by R. Plotnik, D. Mir, and J. M. R. Delgado.--A preliminary physiological model of aggressive behavior, by K. E. Moyer.--Altered adrenal function in two combat situations in Viet Nam, by Peter G. Bourne.--Aggression: summary and overview, by Bryan W. Robinson.--Subject index.

Papers on the "biochemical and neurophysiological correlates of agonistic behavior in mammals." In this relatively new field of inquiry, increasing technical sophistication in the laboratory and the clinic, an interdisciplinary approach to research, more data on human beings (as opposed to laboratory animals), and greater attention to the role of brain pathology should begin to fill in the gaps in our knowledge. One end result is almost certain to be the discovery of means by which to control human aggression, a prospect that raises some sobering moral questions that sometime in the not-too-distant future will have to be faced.

1060
Ratcliffe, A. L. [THE MILITARY-POLITICAL SITUATION AT YEAR'S END. LOOKING BACK AND AHEAD] Die militärpolitische Lage am Jahresende. Rückblick und Ausblick. Wehrkunde, v. 20, Dec. 1971: 609-619.
U3.W396, v. 20

Survey and analysis of the military and political developments of 1971 with special attention to the major countries and crisis areas. Ratcliffe thinks that practical measures to limit armaments have not really acquired momentum and that real progress in disarmament will have to await next year's conferences. In the meantime the military balance is tipping in favor of the Soviet Union, because while the East arms, the West finds itself in a "state of ideological and material demobilization." The danger of a planned nuclear war brought on by a direct clash of Soviet and American interests has disappeared, but the danger of a regional war escalating into a nuclear exchange remains. Events in 1971 point to a polarization of color, Ratcliffe continues, as shown by the near unanimity of the Third World in the United Nations. The trend to a three-way power configuration to replace the Washington-Moscow division of power is irreversible, he contends, but new groupings will appear and the West must wait to see which configuration offers the most advantageous prospects.

1061
Reynolds, Philip A. AN INTRODUCTION TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. London, Longman, 1971. 275 p. illus. JX1395.R46
Bibliography: p. 263-264.

Contents.--pt. 1. Introduction: What is international relations?--pt. 2. Micro-international relations: The actors. Foreign policy as the pursuit of the national interest. Influences on foreign policy-making: the domestic environment. Influences on foreign policy-making: the international environment. Means of achieving objectives. The processes of policy-making.--pt. 3. Macro-international relations: International systems. States systems. Behavioural systems. System transformation.--Conclusion.

Elaborates on two approaches to the study of international relations--micro- and macro-analysis. The former is concerned with states and how and why they act as they do, and the latter with the nature of the interactions among states and how and why they change.

1062
Russell, Elbert W. CHRISTIANITY AND MILITARISM. Peace research reviews, v. 4, Nov. 1971: 1-84. illus. JX1901.P395, v. 4
Entire issue devoted to Christianity and militarism.
Selected bibliography: p. 70-77.

Partial contents.--Introduction.--Historical perspectives.--Contemporary attitudes of Christians toward militarism.--The attitude complex related to religiousness.--The paradox of Christianity.--The origin of Christian militarism.--Conclusion.--Editor's note.

Looks at the attitudes of Christians toward militarism, with particular attention to contemporary attitude research. Russell maintains that this research has been very limited and that almost nothing has been done in the United States. He hopes that the conclusions he has reached will encourage others to undertake the desirable research in this subject.

1063
Sande, Øystein. THE PERCEPTION OF FOREIGN NEWS. Journal of peace research, v. 8, nos. 3/4, 1971: 221-237. illus. AS9.J6, v. 8
"This [article] can be identified as PRIO-publication no. 14-3."

This study tests the effect of various news factors, i.e. properties of events that increase their probability to call attention as "news." The data are all foreign news presented by the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation during a period of 15 days in 1964. The effect of each news factor is tested for the radio, some Norwegian newspapers, and a representative sample of Norwegians interviewed during the same period. As for the joint effect of news factors, two hypotheses are tested: the Additivity Hypothesis that the more factors an event satisfies, the higher the probability that it becomes news; and the Complementarity Hypothesis that the factors will tend to exclude each other since if one factor is present it is less necessary for the other factors to be present for the event to become news. Finally a new way of defining the news factor negativity is suggested. (Abstract supplied)

1064
Sandler, Stanley. HISTORY AND THE MILITARY. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Jan. 1972: 26-31. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 52

The "lessons of history" have never been more popular. Everywhere one looks, they are being used to validate some contemporary military or political doctrine or to underwrite this or that solution to some problem of security or politics. Yet, not unexpectedly, these so-called lessons more often than not are misread or misapplied. Apparently prophets who base their prognostications on the study of history are rarely successful. The very few successful ones have almost always been from the losing side in the last war and from outside the political and military establishments of their own countries. Prophetic incapacity stems from a root contempt for sound scholarship and history itself. The use of history requires "respect for the past, and for those who inhabit it, and an austere refusal to harness them to present discontents." One must also have a firm grasp of the unchanging elements in human nature. Pursued in this spirit, history can be a liberating discipline, yielding a valuable perspective on the present, helping to dispel that

rigidity of intellect that some critics think the bane of the military mind, and offering some solace through the knowledge that however dark the future may seem, man has gone through as bad and perhaps worse and managed to survive.

1065
Schack, Alard von. [ON THE WAY TOWARD A NEW PENTARCHY?] Auf dem Wege zu einer neuen Pentarchie? Aussenpolitik, v. 22, Dec. 1971: 725-734.
D839.A885, v. 22

The nonalinement concept and the emergence of Western Europe, Japan, and China as world powers have made the bipolar nuclear balance unstable and potentially dangerous. The altered international system promises a pentarchical world-power structure, not necessarily based on nuclear capability, that might provide peace and security. "It is surely no coincidence that the number five has played a special role in balance-of-power attempts. On the one side it is small enough to allow detailed risk calculations and, on the other, large enough to reduce the dangers of a sterile stalemate or ultimately the domination by a single dictatorial power." The five-power constellation would encompass the United States, the Soviet Union, Western Europe, China and Japan, each associated with a regional grouping of equal, independent states in much the way that the United States is associated with Latin America through the Organization of American States. In this geographically vertical system each pentarchical power would be associated with its area to the South, as has been historically and is even now the case: Europe with Africa, the Soviet Union with South Asia, China with Southeast Asia, and Japan with East Asia and the Pacific. Diagonal relationships and the influence of world organizations would prevent the southern regions from becoming mere dependencies of their northern associate. The United States, because it is the strongest and geographically the most protected state, might fill the role of balancer in this five-power arrangement.

1066
Schilling, Jürgen. [YES TO EUROPE--BUT TO WHICH ONE?] Ja zu Europa--aber zu welchem? Merkur, v. 25, Nov. 1971: 1021-1034.
AP30.M43, v. 25

Questions the wisdom of a politically integrated Western Europe. Such a union, Schilling holds, would frustrate the current détente movement by hardening East-West positions, for Moscow knows that many integrationists see their goal as a means of pushing back Soviet influence in Eastern Europe. Western Europe lacks the military clout to be a superpower, and the Soviet Union would not tolerate Europe acquiring that clout. Western Europe will find it easier and more prudent, Schilling continues, to keep American interest in Europe alive than to build its own integrated defense force. Europe should continue to rely on the Western Alliance. The upcoming European security conference will be a good test of Soviet sincerity, but the resulting security order, Schilling concludes, could be more fragile than the current division of Europe.

1067
STUDIES IN POLITICS, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL; PREPARED IN HONOUR OF DR. A. APPADORAI, Edited by M. S. Rajan; foreword by Zakir Husain. Delhi, Vikas Publications [1971] xxxiv, 512 p. illus.
JX1395.S8
Includes bibliographical references.

Partial contents.--Theory of international relations: The social sciences and international conflict, by Quincy Wright. Norms and realities in international relations, by Kenneth W. Thompson. Factors affecting the number of units in an international system, by P. A. Reynolds.--International law and organization: The United States, the United Nations, and the changing world, by Leland M. Goodrich. Afro-Asia: its political credibility in the United Nations, by Swadesh Rana. The problem of international poverty: is there a legal obligation on the rich countries to help the poor? by Rahmatullah Khan. Sovereignty of states in international law, by R. P. Anand.--Current problems of international relations: United States foreign policy: new perspectives, by Vera Micheles Dean. Pakistan's Soviet policy, 1958-1968: a balance sheet, by Mohammed Ayoob. End of charismatic leadership in Africa, by Anirudha Gupta. Personal struggles as a factor in the Chinese cultural revolution, by Gargi Dutt. U.S. postures in West Asia: defence arrangements with Saudi Arabia: a case study, by R. Narayanan.

Festschriften in the general areas of "Political Science, International Affairs (including International Politics, International Organization, International Law, and Economics), (foreign) Area Studies and India's Foreign Policy and Relations." Wright reviews postwar developments and objectives of conflict management and resolution, Goodrich discusses the role of the United States in the United Nations since its founding, Rana explores the participation and position of the African and Asian states in the United Nations, and Ayoob surveys Soviet-Pakistani relations, including Soviet arms sales to Rawalpindi.

1068
Tudyka, Kurt P. [INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. AN INTRODUCTION] Internationale Beziehungen. Eine Einführung. Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz, Kohlhammer [c1971] 174 p. (Reihe Kohlhammer)
JX1391.T84
Bibliography: p. 147-173.

Contents.--pt. 1. International relations as a conflict system: Causes and states of war. Reduction of military conflicts.--pt. 2. Interna-

tional relations as an integration system: Conditions and processes of integration. Structural features of the "transnational society." Intercultural socialization.--pt. 3. International relations as a domination system: International stratification: "cities and villages." Foreign relations in the "national interest?" Democratic legitimation of foreign policy?--Notes and bibliography.--Index.

Study of international relations organized according to the three theoretical categories: conflict, integration, and dominion. The procedure used in the study, the introduction states, is one of diminishing distance and abstraction, from the bipolar system of major conflicting groups to the democratic legitimation by individual groups.

1069
WORLDSOCIETY; HOW IS AN EFFECTIVE AND DESIRABLE WORLD ORDER POSSIBLE? A symposium edited by Bartholomeus Landheer, Johannes H. M. M. Loenen, and Frederick L. Polak. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1971. 211 p.
JX1954.W69
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--United Nations and international law, by E. Menzel.--Global tasks and the UN of the future, by Ernst B. Haas.--Federalism and universal planning, by Josue de Castro.--World federalism: regional, by Peter Hay.--World order based on the individual and maintained by a political world authority, by J. H. C. Creyghton.--Integrative synthesis and nuclear world crisis, by J. H. M. M. Loenen.--Bipolarity and the future of world society, by Richard A. Falk.--Communist society as a world order, by E. Oberländer.--Long live the victory of the people's war. The international significance of comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of people's war with an introductory note by E. Zürcher, by Lin Piao.--Gandhian view of a world social order, by T. K. N. Unnithan.--The problem of a global social order, by Bruno Fritsch.--Balance of technology, by Fred L. Polak.--Industrial society as the basis of worldsociety, by B. Landheer.--Building a social system for mankind, by Quincy Wright.

On the assumption that some kind of world order is not only essential but possible, the authors deal with two major questions: what should be the sociopolitical structure of the whole, and how can it be brought to being?

FOREIGN POLICIES

1070
Abosch, Heinz. [THE SCHISM BETWEEN MOSCOW AND PEKING] Das Schisma zwischen Moskau und Peking. WH; Werkhefte, v. 26, Jan. 1972: 4-9.
BX803.W2, v. 26

Evaluates the Sino-Soviet estrangement as a classic power struggle of rival interests and not the result of an ideological dispute. This struggle became serious when the Soviet Union failed to help Peking develop the nuclear capability which the Chinese regarded as a necessary instrument of sovereignty and further deepened when the Chinese saw Soviet moves as attempts at isolation and encirclement until now the Soviet Union has become China's chief enemy. The fact of Chinese independence of the Soviet Union, Abosch concludes, has not been lost on Eastern Europe.

1071
Abu-Jaber, Faiz S. SOVIET ATTITUDES TOWARD ARAB REVOLUTIONS: YEMEN, EGYPT, ALGERIA, IRAQ AND PALESTINE. Middle East forum, v. 46, no. 4, 1970: 41-65.
DS41.M45, v. 46

Traces the evolution of Soviet attitudes toward revolutions in the Arab countries. By and large, the Soviets have been sympathetic toward Arab revolutionary movements. Moscow was especially enthusiastic about the Iraqi revolution, because, under the old regime, that country had joined the Baghdad Pact. On the other hand, its approach to the Palestinian revolutionary movement has been cautious, partly in deference to the Arab governments, which have not themselves conceded full legitimacy to the Palestinians, and partly because the Soviet Union is "genuinely interested in a peaceful solution in Palestine and would like to avoid confrontation with the United States that could occur if the Palestine revolution 'gets out of hand.'"

1072
Aichi, Kiichi. THE SEARCH FOR NATIONAL SECURITY; TWO ARTICLES. [Tokyo] Public Information Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1969. 24 p. illus. (Japan Reference Series, 1969, no. 4)
DS803.A25 1969, no. 4
Translations of two articles originally published in Economics and Diplomacy (July 1969) and Bungei Shunju (May 1969) respectively.

Contents.--Lessons from Japanese diplomacy.--Ideals and realities in national security.

Brief review of the role of Japanese diplomacy in international relations and a discussion of Japan's role in world affairs focusing on Sino-Soviet relations, the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, and the Self-Defense Forces.

1073
Altmann, Rüdiger. [EAST-WEST PASSAGE] Ost-West Passage. Merkur; deutsche Zeitschrift für europäisches Denken, v. 26, Jan. 1972: 1-7.
AP30.M43, v. 26

Declares that the Treaty of Moscow, the pragmatic settlement of the Berlin issue, and the coming recognition of the German Democratic Republic signify that the West German Government has paved the way for the Soviet penetration of Western Europe

at a time when the Americans are losing interest in NATO and see the European unity they once fostered as an economic competitor. Altmann calls Ostpolitik a euphemism invented by the Bonn Government to cover its own weakness in face of an aggressive Soviet policy. In the course of East-West discussions German reunification and national unity have been passed over, he concludes, pointing to their absence in the Moscow Treaty.

1074
ANALYSIS OF THE USSR'S 24TH PARTY CONGRESS AND 9TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN; proceedings of a symposium [held at George Washington University] Apr. 30-May 1, 1971. Norton T. Dodge, editor. Mechanicsville, Md., Cremona Foundation, 1971. 100 p.
JN6598.K5 1971c

"Symposium sponsored by the Washington Chapter of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, and the Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies, George Washington University."
Includes bibliographical references.

Partial contents.--Forces for change: The Soviet military as a force for change, by John R. Thomas.--Foreign policy: Introduction, by Jack Perry. Foreign policy priorities and agenda, by Thomas W. Wolfe. Continuity and change in Soviet foreign policy, by Benjamin Zook. Soviet behavior and intentions: arms limitation and Europe, by Thomas B. Larson.

Considers the effects of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on domestic and foreign Soviet policies, including analyses of influences shaping the Soviet foreign policymaking process, the effect of the recently attained nuclear parity on long-range Soviet strategy, and the implications for American foreign policy. While Wolfe suggests that the Soviet Union may be led to more assertive international behavior by its achievement of strategic equality with the United States, Larson does not doubt that the Soviet Union is aware of the disaster of nuclear confrontation.

1075
Apalin, G. THE ANTI-SOCIALIST SUBSTANCE OF PEKING'S FOREIGN POLICY. International affairs (Moscow) Dec. 1971: 23-31. D839.I465, 1971

Denounces the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China by arguing against its anti-Soviet aspects and its position in regard to the class struggle between socialism and imperialism. Present Chinese foreign policy differs from that of the cultural revolution only in the tactics used to achieve its strategic goal of dominance. Apalin finds fault with Peking's analysis of the "four major contradictions" in international politics and warns that the Maoist "doctrine of the two superpowers" is the basis of Chinese hopes to fulfill its great-power aims by promoting a clash between the imperialist and socialist states. Apalin thinks Chinese policy "treacherous and dangerous" to the Socialist revolutionary movement because of China's military potential and its increasingly anti-Soviet and decreasingly anti-imperialist attitudes. He concludes that China cannot claim a status in the world "worthy of the great Chinese people" except through alliance and fraternal cooperation with the other Socialist countries.

1076
Appadorai, A. ESSAYS IN INDIAN POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY. Delhi, Vikas Publications [1971] 252 p.
DS448.A617

Includes bibliographical references.

Partial contents.--Foreign policies of South Asian states.--Ministry of External Affairs: organization and functioning.--Nehru's foreign policy: 1946-64.--India's foreign policy after Nehru.--The Bandung Conference in perspective.--Tashkent Declaration: the background and significance.--Power in the thermonuclear age.--India and the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Articles on Indian foreign policies and issues, most of which were published in various domestic and foreign periodicals and books from 1964 to 1969.

1077
Apple, R. W. WHY THE TWO-CHINA PLOY FAILED. New statesman, v. 82, Nov. 5, 1971: 609-610.
AP4.N64, v. 82

President Nixon's two-China strategy for the United Nations was doomed to failure by the politicomilitary realities confronting Taiwan within the context of its relations with the United States and the People's Republic of China. Most people know that "Chiang Kai-shek is no more likely to retake the mainland than is Estonia to invade the Soviet Union" and "that Taiwan's is a rump government, clinging to its existence by the weight of American arms and sea power." The United Nations vote that expelled Taiwan and gave mainland China a seat in the General Assembly and the Security Council heralded the end of America's domination of the smaller member-nations. The vote convinced many U.S. Senators that the United States should cut back its foreign aid program, especially to those countries that voted against the two-China policy. That sentiment, together with the liberals' distaste for aid to right-wing dictatorships, combined to defeat the entire foreign aid bill. It is hoped that this defeat will begin a long-term rethinking of what kind of aid the United States should be giving to whom.

1078
Arbatov, G. A. PROSPECTS FOR U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. Current digest of the Soviet press, v. 23, Jan. 18, 1972: 1-4.

D839.C87, v. 23

Translated from S. Sh. A.--ekonomika, politika, ideologia, Nov. 1971.

E838.S23, 1971

The Soviet Union welcomes the meeting between President Nixon and the Soviet leaders as a positive step in the foreign policy program of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and as a hopeful sign for success in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. The most pressing problems for discussion are the prevention of nuclear war, the termination of the arms race and the expansion of commercial, economic and scientific cooperation between the two states. Despite the American aggression in Vietnam and its enormously swollen strategic arsenal, Soviet-American relations in the 1960's were "far from the worst" in the postwar period. In fact, several agreements were concluded concerning accidental war and direct communications links between the Soviet Union and the United States. "Not to rest content with an unstable equilibrium between peace and war, but to seek a more stable foundation for strengthening peace and international security--this is an important common interest of the Soviet and American peoples."

1079

Barnett, A. Doak. "A FOUR-POWER BALANCE UNLIKE ANYTHING WE'VE HAD IN PAST." U.S. news & world report, v. 72, Mar. 6, 1972: 18-19. illus.

JK1.U65, v. 72

An interview with A. Doak Barnett on the significance of recent developments in U.S.-Communist Chinese relations. The future of Asia, according to Barnett, lies with the fluid but possibly stable four-sided balance of power that is emerging among Communist China, Japan, the Soviet Union, and the United States. Recent improvements in U.S.-Chinese relations, a rather tardy catching up to reality, should bring advantages to both sides. If there is real danger in the new developments, it is in the effect of a too-rapid change in Sino-American relations on Japan and the Soviet Union. Uncertainty could, under certain circumstances, provoke large-scale Japanese rearmament or contribute to the outbreak of a Sino-Soviet war.

1080

Barnett, Robert W. CHINA AND TAIWAN: THE ECONOMIC ISSUES. Foreign affairs, v. 50, Apr. 1972: 444-458. D410.F6, v. 50

Compares the goals, economic strategies, and progress of Peking and Taiwan. Barnett finds Taiwan's economic growth impressive, a result of hard work and outgoing enterprise. By contrast the more introspective People's Republic showed no economic growth during the chaotic periods of the great leap forward and the cultural revolution, although recently there are signs of pragmatic and even innovative internal developments. Barnett is particularly interested in the possibilities of coexistence or accommodation with the various neighbors and notes that Peking does not seem uncomfortable in its relations with Hong Kong or Macao. Coexistence with Taiwan would be particularly agreeable if it provided economic benefits. Economic cooperation between the mainland and Taiwan might create what would be "in effect, a Taiwan Free Port Area of the People's Republic of China." When a mutually agreeable program was underway, American defense commitments could gradually become tenuous and eventually be negotiated away.

1081

Borch, Herbert von. [USA-CHINA: THE GLASS-BEAD GAMES OF POWER POLITICS] USA-China: Glasperlenspiele der Mächtepolitik. Aussenpolitik, v. 23, Jan. 1972: 10-20. D839.A885, v. 23

Reviews the more than 20-year estrangement between the United States and China ending in the announcement of President Nixon's trip and speculates on the three major problems to be discussed during his visit: the future of Taiwan, a nuclear China, and the Vietnam war. The President deprived the first of these problems of much of its potency by declaring the Taiwan question a matter for Chinese negotiation. He will have to convince the Chinese, however, that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks are not a Sino-American conspiracy to prevent Peking's development of a plausible deterrent. The Vietnam war should not be to difficult a problem, for the only real Chinese concern was that the war would spill over the border. Von Borch sees these three problems as part of the larger area problems that include the relationship of both states to the Soviet Union, Japan, and the rest of Asia. This in turn means a readjustment of power politics in which the Pacific quartet of the United States, China, the Soviet Union, and Japan will play a major role.

1082

Brandt, Willy. GERMANY'S "WESTPOLITIK." Foreign affairs, v. 50, Apr. 1972: 416-426.

D410.F6, v. 50

Describes his recent talks with President Nixon as reflecting American-European relations which he describes as being in "a kind of in-between stage." Brandt points out that Western European countries are militarily dependent on the United States for their security, but economically they are advancing toward unity. While not expecting serious economic or currency warfare with the United States, he believes that increased dialog could lead to increased cooperation. Brandt further predicts that "Western Europe will form a union beyond that of the economic community which will be able to take its share of international responsibility independently of the United States but in firm partnership with it."

1083
Brandt, Willy. REPORT ON THE STATE OF THE NATION. In Germany (Federal Republic, 1949-). Presse- und Informationsamt. Bulletin, v. 20, Feb. 29, 1972. DD259.A35, v. 20
Article is an unpaged supplement.
"Submitted by Chancellor Willy Brandt to the Bundestag, February 23, 1972."

Enumerates the West German Government's steps to achieve détente in Europe and to pave the way for German unity and European unification and explains the context in which relations with East Germany could be subject to treaty. Brandt asserts that an agreement between the two governments must do more than define the form of these relations; it must acknowledge the interests of the people concerned. While a treaty between Bonn and East Berlin must be a treaty like any other treaty between states, an agreement between the two governments must not overlook the fact that the people of the two states form one nation. "This has nothing to do with legalism, and it stands above the category of international law that people in both States do not feel as foreigners in their relations with each other."

1084
Brandt, Willy. [THE WILL FOR PEACE; PERSPECTIVES OF POLICY] Der Wille zum Frieden; Perspektiven der Politik. Vorwort: Golo Mann. [Hamburg] Hoffmann und Campe [1971] 379 p. illus.
DD259.4.B677

Contents.--Preface, by Golo Mann.--Postwar period.--Berlin.--Small steps.--International Social Democratic conferences.--At party congresses.--Bonds with the West.--Ostpolitik.--Peace.--German tradition.--Worldwide responsibility.--The Nobel Peace Prize.

A collection of more than 65 essays and speeches by Willy Brandt spanning the more than 30-year period from his exile in Scandinavia to his acceptance of the Nobel Peace Prize. Mann's preface draws a composite picture of Brandt the man and the politician, depicting him as the Social Democrat who, while holding that state and society are but different aspects of the same substance, is realist enough to know that any rapprochement with the peoples of Eastern Europe is possible only through contractually sealed agreements with their governments, regardless of form.

1085
BRANDT'S GERMANY: WHAT KIND OF ALLY? East West digest, v. 8, Feb. 1972: 140-150.
N&CPR

While Chancellor Willy Brandt tries to convince his constituents and the opposition that his Ostpolitik enjoys the blessings of the Western Allies, he acts "as a gravedigger of the moral and material defences of German freedom." His government has tolerated if not abetted leftist violence and disruption, dealt leniently or not at all with East-bloc spies, and signaled its intention to reduce the obligatory service period in the Bundeswehr. His party conducted secret negotiations with a foreign Communist party, paving the way for concessions to Moscow and allowing the illegal West German Communist party to surface legally under a new name. There are reports of a secret protocol to the Treaty of Moscow "committing the Bonn government to further, highly dangerous concessions. . . ." Convinced that there is no hope of a continued American presence in Europe, the Brandt Government seeks to curry favor in Moscow. Instead Brandt should follow the example of the British prime minister and concentrate on unifying European forces.

1086
Burrack, Dieter. [PEKING'S INFLUENCE IN BLACK AFRICA] Pekings Einfluss in Schwarzafrika. Aussenpolitik, v. 23, Jan. 1972: 21-29.
D839.A885, v. 23

Between 1955-1965 the Chinese Communists attempted to expand their influence in Black Africa by actively supporting revolutionary activity on the continent. This resulted in the rupture of relations with many African states. After the cultural revolution, the Chinese again returned to Africa. This time however their approach was diplomatic and economic and not revolutionary. Since 1969 the Chinese have expanded their influence and reputation, financing and participating in infrastructure development and supplying and training African military forces. Peking has especially intensified its efforts in those countries where Moscow had sought to establish its influence.

1087
Carney, Joseph P. THE U.S.S.R. AND AFRICA'S WARS OF LIBERATION. Thought, a review of culture and idea, v. 46, winter 1971: 592-610.
AP2.T333, v. 46

Moscow's current cautious overtures toward the African states emphasize assistance over ideology, since earlier attempts at rapid Socialist indoctrination failed. Economic advancement has forced the Soviet Union, as a modern power, to attend to international responsibilities and has reduced its enthusiasm for wars of liberation. "Peaceful coexistence, nuclear disarmament, and the strong control of revolutionary situations in the Third World, which threaten world peace, are basic foreign policies that the Soviet Union has to live with now in its present stage of economic development." China, on the other hand, is less constrained and approaches African states as a fellow Third World member. Recipients of Chinese aid are required to denounce imperialism, colonialism, and Western intervention. The United States has done relatively little in Southern Africa and seems to favor the status quo, hoping that racial problems will clear up with time.

1088
Cecil, R. GERMANY AND REUNIFICATION. In Payne, J. P., comp. Germany today: introductory studies. London, Methuen, 1971: 1-27.
DD259.P38
"Distributed in the U.S.A. by Barnes & Noble Inc."
Bibliography for chapter cited: p. 26-27.

After pursuing a 20-year-long militant policy for the reunification of Germany, the Federal Republic has opted under Social-Democratic leadership for a policy of conciliation, subordinating reunification to rapprochement. The fervor for reunification among Germany's western neighbors has also cooled, for they fear the industrial power of a reunited Germany might be accompanied by great growth in political power. The Soviet Union's preoccupation with China will not benefit the cause of reunification. First of all, in its ideological dispute with Peking, Moscow is not likely to abandon its orthodoxy by making concessions to Bonn at the expense of East Berlin. Secondly, in a military confrontation with China, the Soviet Union would not want a powerful and potentially hostile power on its western flank. Quantitatively inferior, East Germany sees only its own demise in reunification. Perhaps then reunification will come about through a long and gradual process of accommodation. There is, however, no assurance that the issue will not again assume political primacy in West Germany and that Germany's international behavior will continue to reflect restraint.

1089
Chauvel, Jean. [CHINA AND THE UNITED NATIONS] La Chine et les Nations Unies. Politique étrangère, v. 37, no. 1, 1972: 5-9.
JX3.P6, v. 37

In taking its place in the United Nations, China did not take into consideration the reservations that it had expressed before the cultural revolution. China's foreign policy has been correspondingly modified and its horizon has been enlarged. Its role in the United Nations, with respect to the Third World, could become considerable. To be noted is the present Chinese tendency to ignore Japan, which is potentially dangerous for Peking's future role in Asia. (Translation of supplied abstract)

1090
Chiao, Kuan-hua. PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA: REVOLUTION & DISSENSION. Vital speeches of the day, v. 38, Dec. 1, 1971: 98-101.
PN6121.V52, v. 38
"Delivered in the United Nations General Assembly, New York City, November 15, 1971. (Translation from the Chinese.)"
Also translated in Peking Review, v. 14, Nov. 19, 1971: 5-9. illus.
DS701.P42, v. 14

A greeting to the United Nations from the People's Republic of China stating its position on many world issues. The Chinese Government opposes U.S. policy toward Taiwan and the intervention in Indochina. Peking supports the struggles of Third World countries in Africa and Latin America and upholds the cause of the Palestinians and other Arabs. As Chinese military aid is provided for peoples resisting aggression, so China's nuclear weapons systems are defensive in nature and designed primarily to break the superpower monopoly on nuclear arms. While China hopes for ultimate elimination of all nuclear weapons, it refuses to negotiate with the superpowers alone and urges worldwide nuclear discussions including all interested countries. Chiao closes on an optimistic note calling for all nations that love peace and uphold justice to work together to defend national independence and to commit themselves to safeguarding international peace and promoting human progress.

1091
Cho, M. Y. [POPULAR DIPLOMACY IN EAST ASIA: ORIGIN, THEORY AND PRACTICE; U.S. FAR EAST POLICY AND SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS] Die Volksdiplomatie in Ostasien: Entstehung, Theorie und Praxis; die Asienpolitik der Vereinigten Staaten und die Beziehungen zwischen der Volksrepublik China und Japan. Wiesbaden, O. Harrassowitz [c1971] 240 p. (Schriften des Instituts für Asienkunde in Hamburg, Bd. 30) DS740.5.J3C513
Summary in English.
Bibliography: p. [225]-234.

Contents.--Development from the capitulation of Japan to the founding of the People's Republic of China.--Origin of the tension against the background of the American policy of nonrecognition vis-a-vis Peking.--Conclusion of the first trade agreement between China and Japan.--The further development of unofficial relations.--Popular diplomacy and the primacy of popular sovereignty.--Rousseau's volonté générale.--The role of public opinion.--Comparison of the constitutions of modern states.--Popular organizations: substance, possibilities and limitations.--Epilog.--Bibliography.--Postscript [to the bibliography].--Summary.--Index.

Examines the ongoing but unofficial relationship between Peking and Tokyo as a new form of international relations that exemplifies the Chinese concept of "popular diplomacy." This new-age diplomacy, Cho explains, operates over the heads of governments and "seeks to include the entire group of addressees in the process of communication." The result is that public opinion is marshalled to the extent that the decisionmaking authorities may be forced to meet the popular demand for bilateral relations. Cho points out the success of this "popular diplomacy" by saying that the absence of official relations with a country has not prevented the Chinese Communists from doing business with that country.

1092
Cviic, K. F. THE OUTLOOK FOR YUGOSLAVIA. World today, v. 27, Dec. 1971: 522-530.
D410.W63, v. 27

Pessimism concerning Yugoslavia's ability to deal successfully with its pressing domestic problems has so far proved largely unfounded. The economic situation is still threatening, and there are signs of continuing Serbian disaffection with aspects of the decentralization program, but, all in all, the situation appears more stable than a year ago. The question now is whether the Soviet Union will allow the Yugoslavs the time needed to continue the process of liberalization and stabilization. Once again the Balkans have become important to the Russians, whose intentions there are still uncertain. Clearly, Yugoslavia is not Czechoslovakia, and the Kremlin seems content to await Tito's departure from the scene, which is set for 1976. Still, the onset of détente has left Yugoslavia weak and exposed and without Western support Soviet pressures will be difficult to resist. Nonalinement is Yugoslavia's way of retaining that support, as many in the West now realize. Military ties would be counterproductive, but political and economic backing are essential. Yugoslav independence and further liberalization depend upon them.

1093
Czempiel, Ernst-Otto. [POWER AND COMPROMISE; THE RELATIONS OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY WITH THE UNITED NATIONS 1956-1970] Macht und Kompromiss; die Beziehungen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zu den Vereinten Nationen 1956-1970. [Düsseldorf] Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag [c1971] 189 p. (Krieg und Frieden; Beiträge zu Grundproblemen der internationalen Politik)
JX1977.2.G4C9
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface.--Introduction.--The development of the Federal Republic into nonmembership 1949-1955.--The United Nations in the Federal Republic 1956-1970.--The Federal Republic in the United Nations 1956-1970.--Result--power instead of compromise.--Index.

Examines the relationship of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations from the viewpoint of the interdependence of social structure and foreign policy premises. Czempiel concludes that the Federal Republic has exercised a traditional German reserve toward international organizations. "The negative balance of its U.N. policy cannot be traced to the existence of the DDR [German Democratic Republic] but rather to its categorical preference for bilateralism and power politics."

1094
[THE EASTERN TREATIES, STATUS OF BERLIN, MUNICH AGREEMENT, RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FRG AND THE GDR. ADDRESSES AND DISCUSSIONS OF A SYMPOSIUM ORGANIZED BY THE INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL LAW AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KIEL, MARCH 27-29, 1971] Ostverträge, Berlin-Status, Münchener Abkommen, Beziehungen zwischen der BRD und der DDR. Vorträge und Diskussionen eines Symposiums, veranstaltet vom Institut für Internationales Recht an der Universität Kiel 27.-29. März 1971. [Hamburg] Hansischer Gildenverlag, J. Heitmann [c1971] 361 p. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Internationales Recht an der Universität Kiel, 66)
JX77.K55, Heft 66
Bibliography: p. 327-361.

Contents.--Editor's preface.--Symposium participants.--pt. 1. Legal questions on the Eastern treaties.--pt. 2. The 1938 Munich agreement and the settlement of German-Czech questions.--pt. 3. The legal position of Berlin.--pt. 4. Relations between the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic.--Appendix: Selected bibliography.

Speeches and discussions of a symposium held by the Institute for International Law of the University of Kiel from March 27 to 29, 1971, focusing on the legal ramifications of the Treaties of Moscow and Warsaw, the status of Berlin, the 1938 Munich Agreement, and relations between East and West Germany.

1095
Fabritzek, Uwe G. [GERMANY IN CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY] Deutschland in der Aussenpolitik Chinas. Aussenpolitik, v. 23, Jan. 1972: 30-39.
D839.A885, v. 23

Although Communist China has rejected the two-China concept of others, it has itself championed a two-Germany policy, with Peking's relationship to each of the German states dependent on its positions vis-a-vis the United States and the Soviet Union. The result has been that China assigns primacy to East Germany in matters of politics and to West Germany in economics. The intensive trade between China and the Federal Republic, that makes the latter second only to Japan as a Chinese trading partner, clearly demonstrates that Peking knows how to distinguish trade from politics. Peking is extremely critical of Soviet policy toward Western Europe, regarding it as a sellout of East German sovereignty and a finalization of Soviet control of Eastern Europe. Yet it is careful not to criticize East Germany, notwithstanding the closeness of East Berlin's ties with Moscow. Peking follows the progress of the European Economic Community toward integration with interest, seeing it as weakening the hegemonial role of the United States and acting as a buffer to Soviet ascendancy in Europe. In view of Peking's complex attitudes toward Germany and Europe, Bonn should seek to clarify the future shape of its relations with Peking. In doing so, Bonn should stress to the Chinese its independence of either Washington or Moscow.

1096
Farlow, Robert L. ROMANIAN FOREIGN POLICY: A CASE OF PARTIAL ALIGNMENT. Problems of communism, v. 20, Nov./Dec. 1971: 54-63.
HX1.P75, v. 20

Within the Soviet-East European alinement system, Romania is unique in having established a relatively independent foreign policy called "partial alignment" based on variations of the standard Communist ideological concepts of nation, socialist internationalism, the laws of socialist development, proletarian internationalism, and national vs. international communism. Romania acts out its ideological principles politically by its independence of the Soviet-East European allies in interstate and interparty matters. Among the circumstances that have helped Romania to plot an independent course in foreign affairs are the personal characteristics of the leaders, the waning of the cold war, the rapid growth of the Romanian economy, the traditional anti-Russian bias of the Romanians, and the removal of persons of questionable loyalty from a streamlined Romanian bureaucracy.

1097
Foland, Frances M. MIXING BUSINESS AND POLITICS: JAPAN LOOKS TO CHINA. New leader, v. 55, Jan. 24, 1972: 8-10. illus.
HX1.N37, v. 55

President Nixon's announcement of a China trip dealt Japan a surprise blow it can forgive but not forget. Announcement of the ten percent surcharge further stiffened Japanese-American relations, motivating Japan to reconsider its relationship with China, with which its economic dealings have increased markedly in the last ten years. The movement toward diplomatic accommodation is probable, although its pace will be slow. The treaty with Chiang's government on Taiwan, which is defended by Premier Sato, will be an obstacle for awhile. Eventually Peking's import needs will stimulate rivalry among the United States, Europe, and Japan, further contributing to the independence of Japan's attitude. "By redirecting alignments among the major powers here as elsewhere in the world, China is becoming the loadstone of the future."

1098
Forschungsdienst China-Archiv. [MOSCOW--DELHI--PEKING: THE ASIAN POLICY OF THE OLD-NEW CZARS] Moskau--Delhi--Peking: die Asienpolitik der altneuen Zaren. China-Analysen, v. 10, Nov. 1971: 16-19. DS701.C356, v. 10

Moscow is plying the old Czarist policy of expansionism in Central Asia and the Near East. Only the goal is different: before the revolution it was to dislodge the British, now it is to encircle the Chinese. A major move in this direction was the signing of the 1971 Soviet-Indian Treaty of Friendship. The pact limited India's sovereignty through the obligation for consultation on international questions, estranged it from the West through identification with "the struggle against colonialism and racism," and ended its nonalinement policy. Moscow's gains must be weighed against the likelihood of India becoming a liability, the increased strain on the Soviet economy that this new expansionist move will surely bring about, and Chinese countermoves.

1099
Forschungsdienst China-Archiv. [PEKING-WASHINGTON: SOVIET REACTIONS INTENSIFY] Peking-Washington: sowjetische Reaktionen verschärfen sich. China-Analysen, v. 10, Oct. 1971: 8-9.
DS701.C356, v. 10

Although the Soviet Union had long been voicing stories of Sino-American collusion, the announcement of President Nixon's visit to Peking nonetheless took Moscow by surprise. Soviet comment was at first noninflammatory and sought to play down the event. Later came veiled warnings that Soviet-American negotiations on various matters of mutual interest, including the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, might be jeopardized by any Sino-American rapprochement directed against the Soviet Union. But the main thrust of Soviet displeasure was aimed at Peking, which Moscow accused of crossing over to the imperialist camp, engaging in frenzied anti-Sovietism, and breaking up Socialist solidarity. The intensification of Moscow's anti-Peking polemics has served to bind other Communist parties and countries closer to Moscow.

1100
Forschungsdienst China-Archiv. [RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES IN THE GLOBAL POWER TRIANGLE OF THE FUTURE] Risiken und Chancen im globalen Mächte-Dreieck der Zukunft. China-Analysen, v. 10, Oct. 1971: 4-7.
DS701.C356, v. 10

Peking's invitation to President Nixon means that China regards the Soviet Union as the chief immediate threat to its existence and does not portend any lessening of world tension. The United States and the other Western powers should not lose sight of the fact that the new power configuration is no panacea for great-power conflicts of interest, that the Soviet Union and China, however hostile toward one another, are still in ideological opposition to the United States, and that both Communist powers have greater demands to make of Washington than it is likely to accept. China seeks the withdrawal of all American troops from Asia, an end to American influence in the area, and guarantees that Japan will not fill the vacuum left by the United States. No American government can accede to those demands. Although three-way negotiations permit greater freedom of maneuver, "it is neither cynical nor unconstructive to prophesy that negotiations . . . with Moscow and Peking will make past quarrels seem tame in comparison."

1101
Forsythe, David P. "THE SOVIETS AND THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT." Middle East forum, v. 46, no. 4, 1970: 29-39. DS41.M45, v. 46

Soviet diplomacy in the Middle East aims at "a partial settlement between Arab and Israeli that would open Suez and reduce the threat of major war but would leave the fundamental Palestine question to fester and breed further anti-Westernism in the region." Sensing that direct military involvement would be counterproductive, the Soviet leadership has sought to strengthen its political hold on the Arab States, especially the United Arab Republic (UAR), but so far has failed. The occasional convergence of Soviet and Arab views may leave the impression that Soviet influence is dominant, but the truth is that local elites make their own decisions, a further demonstration of "the waning power of outside forces to determine the outcome of events in the Arab area." At the moment, the main danger is not Soviet political dominance but war between the superpowers. As Soviet involvement in the military affairs of the UAR deepens, the opportunities for accidental war proliferate. Barring such a catastrophe, the Middle East situation is not likely to change radically. Settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute depends on the willingness of both sides to make concessions, and not on anything the Soviet Union might do. Without a settlement, the outlook is for "more, and hopefully limited, violence."

1102
Frankel, Theodore, comp. CHINA'S NEW DIPLOMACY; A SYMPOSIUM. Problems of communism, v. 20, Nov./Dec. 1971: 1-32; v. 21, Jan./Feb. 1972: 48-70. HX1.P75, v. 20 and 21

Commentaries on the new Chinese foreign policy in the first installment by Allen S. Whiting, G. F. Hudson, Robert A. Scalapino, Roderick MacFarquhar, Robert W. Barnett, C. P. FitzGerald, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Juergen Domes, Morton H. Halperin, and in the second by James C. Thomson, Jr., V. P. Dutt, A. M. Halpern, George E. Taylor, David P. Mozingo, Richard L. Walker, and Edward Friedman. Answers are given to questions concerning the reasons for recent Chinese foreign-policy overtures to the United States, the implications for Chinese international relations, particularly with Japan and the Soviet Union, and the prospects for improved relations with the West.

1103
Friedel, Alois. [TROOP REDUCTION OR STRUGGLE FOR INFLUENCE? MANSFIELD'S CETERUM CENSEO] Truppenreduzierung oder Kampf um Einfluss? Mansfields "ceterum censeo." Wehrkunde, v. 20, Dec. 1971: 625-629. U3.W396, v. 20

Senator Mansfield's repeated Catonian calls for a reduction of American troop strength in Europe have a far greater chance of being heeded than the 1971 defeat of the Mansfield amendment would indicate. Convinced that the continued large-scale presence of U.S. troops in Europe is wasteful of funds and militarily unnecessary because of the American airlift capability, Mansfield cannot accept the counter-arguments on European security, force relationships, and the significance of Europe for America. He thinks the Soviet forces in Central and Western Europe to be an instrument of Soviet hegemony rather than an offensive weapon. The Treaties of Moscow and Warsaw, the Berlin Agreement, and the prospects for a European security conference further strengthen his hand. The thrust of his future argument can be seen in his September 1971 Senate speech: gradual reduction of U.S. troops in Europe to two divisions or less, appointment of a European to NATO supreme commander, replacement of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean by a multinational NATO naval force, streamlining NATO for emergency situations, acceptance of the existence of two German states, support for ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties and the convening of a European security conference. There is every reason to believe that "Mansfield can and will systematically assert his ceterum censeo in the form of amendments to all foreign policy and security bills," with greater Senate support than heretofore.

1104
Gass, Oscar. TWO DIALOGUES ON DEFENSE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN (WITH SOME PROGRAM NOTES). [Santa Monica, Calif., Rand Corp.] 1969. 67 p. ([Rand Corporation. Paper] P-4323) AS36.R28 no. 4323

Partial contents.--The idea of a dialogue.--Participants in these dialogues.--Two dialogues: U.S. bases in Japan. Japan-U.S. defense treaty.--Program notes: On economic measures and forecasts. On the Soviet Far East. On security of the seas. On Taiwan attacked and attacking.

A fictional dialog between the President of the United States, the Prime Minister of Japan, the Secretary of State of the United States, and the Foreign Minister of Japan designed "to expose the essence of a problem through a confrontation of outlooks or roles, expressed in speaking parts." Among the topics discussed are the status of the U.S. bases in Japan, the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, and the role of China in Asia.

1105
Gebhardt, Hermann P. [POWER SHIFTS IN LATIN AMERICA] Machtverlagerungen in Lateinamerika. Aussenpolitik, v. 22, Dec. 1971: 735-745. D839.A885, v. 22

Reviews American policy toward Latin America amid the power shifts occurring there. The United States is pursuing a low-profile policy, seeking to reduce its commitments while fearing that the Latin American states may fall into the Communist sphere of influence. Washington has tried hard to

prevent the "tuna war" with Ecuador, the expropriation of U.S. property in Peru, and the advent of a Marxist government in Chile from worsening U.S.-Latin relations. Washington sees in Brazil a state powerful enough to assume responsibility for affairs on the southern continent. Buoyed by an economic boom, Brazil is moving toward ascendancy in South America, Gebhardt continues, and thereby is causing Argentina to seek closer ties with Chile. Communist influence or even European influence is slight, but the East bloc could play a major role if leftist regimes seek outside support against American or Brazilian "interference."

1106
Goldblatt, Murray. CANADIAN-SOVIET BILATERAL TIES: THE RECORD AND THE PROSPECTS. In Canada. Dept. of External Affairs. International perspectives, Jan./Feb. 1972: 19-24. illus.
JX351.A3, 1972

Surveys Soviet-Canadian economic, cultural, and technical exchange agreements. Goldblatt describes the Industrial Exchanges Agreement, the Protocol on Consultations, and the General Exchanges Agreement of 1971 and traces the events that led to their formulations. He concludes that the desire of Canada and the Soviet Union to develop closer economic, cultural, and industrial ties should increase in the coming decade "because of a recognition on both sides that it would be valuable in a more fluid world situation."

1107
Gordon, Bernard K. OPEN OPTIONS: AUSTRALIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE SEVENTIES. Current history, v. 62, Mar. 1972: 129-132, 163-164.
D410.C82, v. 62

Australia was as much or more jarred by the "Nixon Shocks" as Japan. Thus all foreign-policy options are now open for debate in Sydney, Melbourne, and Canberra. Traditionally policy has been based on alliances, first with Great Britain and then with the United States, because of the perceived need for protection. In return Australia modeled its diplomatic arrangements along the lines favored by Washington. Now that special relationship is being questioned as the United States "is unquestionably involved in a major shift in its posture in the Pacific region." For Australia, which has regarded its American alliance as an insurance policy, this shift is alarming. Although the state lacks the experience and preparation needed to play an independent role, there is talk of a "Fortress Australia" policy. Should Australia opt for the concept of "autonomous defense," the question of a nuclear weapon system would soon be raised. Australia has signed, but not ratified, the Nonproliferation Treaty.

1108
Gurtov, Melvin. TABLE IN PEKING: HISTORY WRITES THE AGENDA. Nation, v. 214, Feb. 21, 1972: 230-233. illus.
AP2.N2, v. 214

American protestations of good will towards China are belied by the continued bombing in Indochina. There are indications that the People's Republic would have been content to live with neutralist or non-Communist governments in Laos and Cambodia, but it cannot be comfortable with American military presence there and thus must continue to aid Hanoi. "Only when the United States indicates that it will no longer make Indochina a contesting ground for the major powers are the contending forces in each country of Indochina likely to move toward a resolution of their differences by political accommodations." The United States must abandon the notion that China can be contained through Indochina.

1109
Halper, Thomas. FOREIGN POLICY CRISES; APPEARANCE AND REALITY IN DECISION MAKING. Columbus, Ohio, C. E. Merrill Pub. Co. [1971] 235 p. (Merrill political science series)
E840.H34
Bibliography: p. 229-231.

Contents.--The broader context.--Cuba: the Bay of Pigs.--The Dominican Republic: revolution and intervention.--Vietnam: the Gulf of Tonkin.--Vietnam: the Tet offensive.--Cuba: the missile crisis.--Some conclusions.--Bibliographical note.--Index.

Presents evidence for the propositions that U.S. foreign-policy makers "tend to define a given situation as a 'crisis' if they see it as constituting a serious and immediate threat to national and presidential appearances of strength, competence, and resolve," that "factors tending to distort the President's perceptions of reality are found everywhere, are powerful in affecting his decisions, and to a significant extent probably cannot be overcome," and that "Presidents are willing and, at least in the short run, generally able to mislead the public regarding the nature of the presidential response to crises, if Presidents feel that national or personal interests make such deceptions desirable." Five case studies from the Kennedy and Johnson administrations are offered in evidence.

1110
Hatz, Oskar. [POLICY ON EUROPE AT THE CROSSROADS] Europapolitik am Scheideweg. Europäische Begegmung, v. 12, Jan. 1972: 4-5.
AP30.E78, v. 12

Europe has two possible political configurations: existence as a loose band of small and medium-sized states in the shadow of the Soviet Union or at best occupying some middle political position between East and West or evolution into an independent confederation of states. The decision may be made by actions taken this year. The Soviet Union's foreign policy is directed toward the realization of the first alternative, and its vehicle is the proposed European security conference. For the other alternative, a united Western

Europe founded on freedom and self-determination, the member states of the European Economic Community (EEC) display varying shades of enthusiasm. Events in the last two years point to the likelihood of the first alternative, while progress toward Western European integration lags. The negotiations for the expansion of the EEC (the addition of the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark) brighten an otherwise dark picture. Debates in the West German parliament in 1972 on EEC expansion and on the Treaties of Moscow and Warsaw will show whether the Federal Republic of Germany will follow a policy of closer ties with the West or one leading to some midway position between East and West. The former means freedom amid security and prosperity, the latter means entering upon a perilous enterprise.

1111
Houn, Franklin W. CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY IN PERSPECTIVE. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 28, Feb. 1972: 15-21. illus.
TK9145.A84, v. 28

The major foreign policy goals of Communist China include the maintenance of Chinese territorial integrity and political independence, its restoration to a respectable place in the international community, and the desire to change the international status quo. If President Nixon's overtures take full cognizance of Peking's objectives there are no irreconcilable differences between the two powers that could end Washington's quest for a détente. In view of the common concern over the increasing power of Japan and the Soviet Union, China might also be interested in participating in a "'multipolar diplomacy' . . . that would give Washington, Peking and other major powers more options in safeguarding their national security and economic interests." However, it would be wrong to believe that China's willingness to exchange views with America stems from its desire to seek help against the Soviet Union and Japan: China will pursue self-reliance as the principal means of achieving security. With respect to arms control, Chinese acceptance of an international agreement that would relegate it to a position of nuclear inferiority is unlikely. Finally, an understanding coming out of the President's visit on some of the major issues that have divided the United States and China "is bound to go a long way toward soothing China's long-held sense of grievances against 'imperialism,' which more than anything else has been the main cause of the new China's 'intransigence' since 1949."

1112
Humphrey, Hubert H. AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: THE HARD LESSONS OF WAR AND PEACE. World affairs (Washington) v. 134, winter 1971: 193-209.
JX1901.W7, v. 134

Americans must not permit revulsion at the Vietnam war and weariness with world responsibilities to turn them to isolationism because "despite all our failures . . . for the most part we can be proud of the general purpose and direction of our postwar foreign aspirations and policies." Vietnam has taught them to reassess national interests, to direct more attention to domestic needs, and to maintain alliance commitments without disengaging from the world. A new course between isolationism and overinvolvement must be sought. The United States should liquidate the legacy of East-West military confrontation by supporting NATO in a "new diplomacy of partnership and reconciliation." Part of the new diplomacy is to extend negotiations with the Soviets beyond the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks to achieve an atmosphere of mutual trust in which peaceful engagement in science, commerce, and the arts is possible. While President Nixon's decision to visit China is a hopeful sign in our Asian relations, his inept handling of economic and diplomatic relations with Japan could spell trouble in the future. Though the United States has given up unilateral peacekeeping, it must assume a greater responsibility for the economic and social development of new nations. It must "abandon that element of self-righteousness that has stigmatized much of our foreign policy" and get a new perspective on its involvement in the world.

1113
Hussain, T. Karki. U.S. RELATIONS WITH CHINA IN PERSPECTIVE. In Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. Journal, v. 3, Apr. 1971: 617-638.
UA840.I55, v. 3

Speculates on the course of relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China. Hussain argues that despite an apparent dearth of contacts over the last twenty years, the United States and China have been involved in a very real and fluid bilateral relationship with strong tendencies toward equilibrium. The most important issues in this relationship are the status of Taiwan, the U.S. policies of nonrecognition and containment, the exclusion of China from the United Nations, the rival ideologies, and the Vietnam war. He concludes that recent changes in the international system, Chinese military capabilities, Sino-Soviet relations, and American society all favor increasing accommodation between the two powers in the 1970's.

1114
[IS COMMUNISM STILL AGGRESSIVE?] Ist der Kommunismus noch aggressiv? München, Klinger [1971] 44 p. (Schriftenreihe der Liga Europa, Heft 1)
HX44.I84
Bibliography: p. 41-43.

Maintains that, despite the conclusion of nuclear test ban and nonproliferation pacts, affirmations of the acceptance of peaceful coexistence, the ongoing arms limitation talks, and the proposed European security conference, communism has lost none of its aggressiveness. The party of world revolution has accommodated its methods to

current circumstances but has not altered its goals. In their new tactics the Soviets seek to intensify their influence over the Communist parties in non-Communist countries and to dislodge the United States from Europe. To legalize their own position in Europe the Soviets use interstate dialogs aimed at convening a European security conference and securing the ratification of the Moscow Treaty. Annexes to the text include a survey of Communist parties and front groups, a Soviet definition of aggression, and excerpts from a Soviet statement of principles upholding the unwavering struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

1115
Johnson, Richard A. THE ADMINISTRATION OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY. Austin, University of Texas Press [1971] xviii, 415 p. illus.
JX1417.J64
Bibliography: p. [389]-403.

Partial contents.--Limits and bases of administration.--Institutional history of foreign affairs administration.--The participants and their roles. --Some current administrative problems and proposals for the future.--Appendixes.--Index.

Discusses the major problems, scope, practice, and importance of foreign affairs administration. Johnson traces the development of foreign-policy administration from colonial times to the present, focusing on the problems of policy formulation and review and the roles of the President, Congress, and the Department of State in these areas. He concludes that unless the State Department learns to plan more effectively, it cannot hope to achieve greater success in its present coordinating role.

1116
Kalicki, J. H. SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS DESPITE INDOCHINA. World today, v. 27, Nov. 1971: 472-478.
D410.W63, v. 27

Improving Sino-American relations will have important implications for the course of events in Indochina and for the superpowers generally. It is doubtful that this amelioration will help extricate the United States from its involvement in Southeast Asia since China's power to influence Hanoi is limited. The North Vietnamese have already made it clear that they will not allow the fate of Vietnam to be bartered by either the Soviet Union or Communist China. In any case, the disposition of Taiwan appears much more important to the Chinese than the future of Indochina. Although recent initiatives by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to revoke the 1955 Formosa resolution and to limit the President's war-making powers encourage Peking's hopes of getting back Taiwan, it is unlikely that the United States will invalidate its mutual defense treaty with Taiwan. The Chinese may hope to exploit the recent strain in U.S.-Taiwanese relations to induce the Nationalists to begin a policy of reconciliation with the mainland. However, another possibility exists: the improvement of Soviet-Taiwanese relations with a view toward replacing Washington by Moscow as the prime agent of Chinese containment. America's current China policy shows a greater degree of realism than at any time in the past 20 years, but it falsely assumes that a Sino-American condominium will determine the future events in Asia. "Such an assumption overlooks the pluralism of political and socioeconomic forces at work in Asia and the Pacific." In addition, President Nixon's failure to inform the Japanese Government of his new approach toward China has weakened Japanese-American relations. If this oversight leads to more serious disputes between the two allies, the blame will be Washington's.

1117
Katin, Vladimir. THE SOVIET UNION AND THE ARAB WORLD; DEFINING A NEW RELATIONSHIP. New Middle East, no. 39, Dec. 1971: 16-18. illus.
DS63.1.N48, 1971

Emphasizes Soviet economic support for the Arab States and the resultant friendly cooperative relationship achieved "on the basis of full equality and mutual respect." Specific demonstrations of solidarity include a Soviet-Algerian statement condemning Israeli aggression and American intervention in Indochina, summit talks between the Soviet Union and Morocco, and the official visit to Moscow of Egyptian President Sadat.

1118
Kennedy, William V. EAST IS NO LONGER LEAST. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Mar. 1972: 52-56. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 52

American interests in East Asia are crucial because of the influence possible for a power in control of the area on Japan's future politicomilitary course. Should the Soviet Union and/or China acquire control of this region, Japan would have no choice but to accommodate itself to the mainland power or powers in the absence of a firm American military guarantee. Such an accommodation would place the Japanese economy at the disposal of the power or powers in control, threatening significantly the security of the United States. Washington "must seek and maintain a working relationship with the peoples of Asia on a scale at least equal to [its] relationship with Europe" in order to ensure that Japan remains free of foreign domination.

1119
Kristol, Irving. A FOOLISH AMERICAN ISM--UTOPIANISM. New York times magazine, Nov. 14, 1971: 31, 93-94, 96-103. illus.
AP2.N6575, 1971

American politicians find it difficult to speak of the realities of international politics and substitute a high-flown rhetoric that none of their listeners believes. The result is a statement of foreign policy which cannot acknowledge that the country is operating in its best interests in seeking improved relations with China. Instead it must proclaim "the dawn of a new diplomatic era, a giant step to world peace, and all the rest of that nonsense." The dangers of mistakes and misinterpretations are great when it is impossible "for simple and uncontestable truths to be uttered in high places."

1120
Kuzmin, V. THE GUAM DOCTRINE: OLD OBJECTIVES, NEW TECHNIQUES. International affairs (Moscow) Dec. 1971: 32-37. D839.I465, 1971

Defines the American dilemma in Southeast Asia as how "to get out of Indochina, and yet remain there at the same time" and condemns the Nixon Doctrine as merely a new technique to achieve the same old American imperialist aims. Kuzmin considers the Nixon Doctrine a result of both the declining U.S. leadership in the capitalist world and the growing domestic dissatisfaction with American foreign policy. The essence of the policy "consists of modifying the forms of American presence in Southeast Asia by shifting a bigger share of the burden of US imperialism onto its allies and puppets" which Kuzmin divides into puppet partners and cooperating partners neither having the equality of partnership. Kuzmin warns that the Nixon Doctrine may be applied also to the Indian Ocean as part of a U.S. effort to form an Asian alliance operating under its direction.

1121
Laking, George R. NEW ZEALAND FOREIGN POLICY IN THE FACE OF CHANGE. In New Zealand. Dept. of Foreign Affairs. Foreign affairs review, v. 21, June 1971: 14-25. JX1591.A35, v. 21
Address by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs at the annual dinner of the Dunedin Branch, Royal Overseas League, on Tuesday, June 8, 1971.

Reviews and projects New Zealand's role in the South Pacific, Europe, Asia, and its relations with China, the United States, and Australia. Laking states that through diplomacy and trade the Soviet Union has reinforced its presence not only in Asia but the South Pacific, where it is seeking to improve relations with Australia.

1122
Laking, George R., Bruce Grant, and L. V. Castle. NEW ZEALAND AND AUSTRALIA: FOREIGN POLICY IN THE 1970'S. [Wellington] Price Milburn for the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, 1970. 91 p. DU421.L33
"Papers read at the 1969 Conference of the Institute."
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction, by Bruce Brown.--International problems confronting New Zealand in the 1970s, by G. R. Laking.--Australian foreign policy in the 1970s, by Bruce Grant.--New Zealand's role and responsibility in the South Pacific, by L. V. Castle.

Examines current issues and prospects of the foreign policies of Australia and New Zealand. Brown summarizes the discussion at the New Zealand Institute of International Affairs' 1969 conference, reporting that few conclusions were agreed on. Secretary of Foreign Affairs Laking surveys areas of coming concern to New Zealand policy. Grant believes that "a hard-headed and pragmatic examination of the fundamental assumptions of Australian defence and foreign policy" underway will continue into the 1970s. Professor Castle argues for a greater New Zealand commitment to the nations and territories of the South Pacific.

1123
Lendvai, Paul. [CONTINUITY WITH NEW EMPHASES IN AUSTRIAN FOREIGN POLICY] Kontinuität mit neuen Akzenten in der österreichischen Aussenpolitik. Europa-Archiv, v. 26, Nov. 10, 1971: 761-768. D839.E86, v. 26

The neutralization of Austria has not inhibited Vienna from plying an active foreign policy in pursuit of peace. Austria's candidacy for a seat on the Security Council, its participation in drawing up plans for a European security conference, and its recognition of mainland China without reference to Taiwan are examples of Austrian international activism and diplomatic skill. In fact, Austrian political independence is an asset, Foreign Minister Kirschschläger has declared, enabling Vienna to play a role in the creation and maintenance of a zone of détente in Central Europe. Toward this end, Austria has stepped up its diplomatic activity with the countries of Eastern Europe, settled its Tyrolean dispute with Italy, and is seeking admittance to the Common Market in such a manner as not to offend Soviet sensibilities. The periodic meetings of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks in Vienna have served to strengthen Austria's position as a force for peace and Vienna as a third center of U.N. activity.

1124
Lowenthal, Richard. A WORLD ADRIFT. Encounter, v. 38, Feb. 1972: 22-29. AP4.E44, v. 38

Observes that in the current state of international affairs almost anything seems possible and nothing should be taken for granted. Lowenthal turns back to 1963 to the emergence of the "triangular constellation"--the United States, China,

and the Soviet Union--to explain its inflexible positions and stubborn ideologies before describing the current relaxation of tensions. He believes that U.S. policy now has a realistic orientation that makes a reduction of rigidity possible. Lowenthal warns, however, against rejecting ideology and denying its validity, for this is as extreme as blind devotion. The United States should stoutly maintain its own ideals, values, and democratic principles; it should, however, be realistic enough to know that it must not demand that other nations accept these standards as a requisite for cooperation.

1125
Mukherjee, Hiren. THE INDO-SOVIET PACT: NEW DIRECTIONS FOR INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY. Atlas, v. 20, Dec. 1971: 36-38. illus.
AP1.A83, v. 20
Reprinted from The Mail, Madras.
N&CPR

The Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation "creates a new elan and confidence in [South Asia] and provides safeguards against attempts to expand areas of tension . . . and transform a genuine people's struggle for freedom [East Pakistan] into a strife of international dimensions." It will enable India to pursue a more independent and courageous foreign policy that would include full diplomatic recognition of North Vietnam, North Korea, East Germany, and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and closer friendship with neighbors like Burma and Ceylon. New paths of friendship and mutuality will also be sought with Latin American countries like Chile and other countries in Africa and Asia.

1126
Nahm, Andrew C. KOREA'S FOREIGN POLICY AND DIPLOMACY 1961-1970. Korea journal, v. 11, Sept. 1971: 5-9. DS901.K7, v. 11

In 1961 South Korea entered upon a new phase in foreign policy intended to enlarge the nation's presence in world affairs. Long-standing grievances with Japan were laid to rest by the 1965 Treaty of Basic Relations. International horizons were broadened as diplomatic relations and contacts with nonalined, newly independent, and even Communist nations were established. Economic, cultural, and scientific initiatives were undertaken. From the first, President Park felt that a regional collective security system was needed and made extensive contacts with other leaders in working toward this goal. Essential for this new diplomacy was the success of the 1961 military revolution, which placed into power a new group of young, dedicated leaders. The one failure of Korean diplomacy has been the lack of progress in achieving reunification. While Communist hostility has been the major cause of continued division, inflexibility has marked South Korean policy on the reunification question. Fresh new diplomatic moves are required.

1127
Newsom, David D. THE U.S. AND NORTH AFRICA. Vital speeches of the day, v. 38, Jan. 1, 1972: 162-166.
PN6121.V52, v. 38
"Delivered at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, November 18, 1971."

As Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya gained their independence and learned to stand without support, the U.S. relationship with North Africa changed markedly. American military facilities have been withdrawn and the degree of military assistance and involvement has been considerably reduced. Currently the United States is trying to improve relations with Algeria with an eye to tapping that country's large reserves of natural gas. While the United States respects the sovereignty of all these countries, it would view adversely the effort of any foreign power to dominate the Mediterranean and its accesses.

1128
Nixon, Richard M. A TRIP FOR WORLD PEACE: TO RE-ESTABLISH COMMUNICATIONS. Vital speeches of the day, v. 38, Mar. 15, 1972: 322-323.
PN6121.V52, v. 38
"Delivered at Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland, February 28, 1972."

Summarizes the results of the Presidential visit to China to put the trip into proper perspective. Nixon reports that he has begun building a bridge across the gulf of 12,000 miles and 22 years of noncommunication that have separated Americans from Communist China. He lists the agreements reached concerning increased cultural exchange, opportunities for trade, and rules of international conduct that will reduce the risk of confrontation. Where nations can talk about their differences rather than fight over them, he concludes, the basis of a structure for peace exists.

1129
Nixon, Richard M. TOWARD A GENERATION OF PEACE. Reader's digest, v. 100, Feb. 1972: 61-68. illus.
AP2.R255, v. 100

An interview in which President Nixon answers questions concerning U.S. policy on China, Vietnam, strategic arms limitation, the Middle East, and international economic relations with the European Economic Community, Japan, and the Soviet Union. The President is optimistic about the outcome of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), stating that "in my opinion, there is a very good chance that a SALT agreement will be reached--a limitation on offensive weapons and defensive weapons," while "the next step further down the road," a mutual arms reduction, is his goal.

1130
Nixon, Richard M. U.S. FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE 1970'S: THE EMERGING STRUCTURE OF PEACE. A re-

port to the Congress by Richard Nixon. Feb. 9, 1972. [Washington, For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972] 215 p. illus. JX1417.A593

Contents.--pt. 1. The watershed year.--pt. 2. Areas of major change: The Soviet Union. China. Europe and the Atlantic Alliance. Japan. International economic policy.--pt. 3. Areas of continuing transition: East Asia. Latin America. Africa.--pt. 4. Areas of turbulence and challenge: Indochina. Middle East.--South Asia.--pt. 5. The imperative of security: Strategic policy on forces. General purpose forces. Security assistance. Arms control.--pt. 6. The imperative of global cooperation: The United Nations. New dimensions of diplomacy.--pt. 7. The policy-making process: The NSC system.--pt. 8. Conclusion.

President Nixon's third annual statement on foreign policy to Congress, including an analysis of the changes during 1971 and an agenda for future action. In addressing himself to the subject of arms control, Nixon reviews American efforts to reach agreements in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, clarify common objectives with its European allies on mutual and balanced force reductions with a view toward eventual negotiation with the Warsaw Pact nations, and cooperate with the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in regards to treaties banning biological weapons and the emplacement of weapons on the ocean floor.

1131
Noorani, Abdul G. ASPECTS OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY. Bombay, Jaico Pub. House, 1970. 400 p. illus. DS448.N58

Companion volume to author's India's Constitution and Politics.

Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction, by S. Mulgaokar.--Preface, by A. G. Noorani.--Nehru and non-alignment.--The domestic set-up.--India and Pakistan.--India and China.--India and Asia.--India and the bomb.--Some territorial questions.--India and arbitration.--India and conferences.--On diplomacy.--India's other concerns.

A collection of articles written between 1961 and 1970 pointing out the contradictions and lack of coherence of Indian foreign policy and the danger to internal stability from the "distortions and aberrations of our foreign policy postures . . . in the absence of Nehru's charisma." Noorani illustrates the fundamentals of Indian foreign policy and diplomacy by discussing the dilemma over building a nuclear capability before and after Chinese development of the bomb in 1964. He finds that India's objectives in seeking a nuclear guarantee were "as far-fetched and unrealistic as her manner and approach were confused and inept" and concludes that India's concept of nonalinement is "more a dogma than a sound principle of foreign policy."

1132
Parenti, Michael, comp. TRENDS AND TRAGEDIES IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. Boston, Little, Brown [1971] 228 p. E744.P29

Includes bibliographical references.

Partial contents.--Introduction: New perspectives, by Michael Parenti.--pt. 1. Expansionism and cold war: a matter of some history: Intervention and its aftermath, 1919-1933, by D. F. Fleming. The cold war continues, 1945-1948, by David Horowitz.--pt. 2. The interests of imperialism: United States wealth and power in Latin America, by James Petras. The containment of socialism, by Paul A. Baran and Paul M. Sweezy.--pt. 3. American interventionism: some recent cases: Destroying a social democracy: the case of Guatemala, by John Gerassi. The Dominican Republic: revolution and restoration, by James Petras. Destroying a social revolution: the case of Vietnam, by Richard Morrock. Munich, dominos, and containment, by Howard Zinn. Counterinsurgency and genocide, by Noam Chomsky.--Conclusion: the basis of American interventionism, by Michael Parenti.

Criticizes the intents, purposes and consequences of American foreign policy in the cold war, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, and Vietnam. Parenti suggests that "not misplaced zeal, but imperialism may be the reason for United States involvement in so many overseas wars" in which the U.S. objectives were "to service, subsidize, and forcibly protect American capitalist interests at the expense of native populations."

1133
Pascal, Radu. ROMANIA AND THE PROBLEMS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY. Romania today, no. 12/205, 1971: 33, 57. DR201.R78, 1971

Romania holds that the decisive element in the establishment of European security is the promotion of international relations and equitable collaboration between the continental states regardless of social system. International understanding presupposes, however, the recognition that each state has the right to choose its own path of development and demands respect for the principles of national independence and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states and for existing frontiers. Romania's entire foreign policy is directed toward the cementing of interstate relations. In this connection it calls attention to the state visits of President Ceaușescu, Romania's bilateral collaboration with other countries, its activity in various international bodies, and its initiatives for the establishment of regional détente in the Balkans. Romania supports the convening of a European security conference but believes that it is not realistic to build the conference around negotiations by blocs. That procedure would endorse the present artificial division of the continent and not contribute to its termination as required by the true interests of European security.

1134
Penescu, Corneliu. THE 21ST PUGWASH CONFERENCE AT SINAIA. Romania today, no. 11/204, 1971: 57. illus. DR201.R78, 1971

An interview with Professor Corneliu Penescu, chairman of the Romanian National Pugwash Committee, on topics discussed at the Conference and the views of the conferees. Penescu thinks that the convening of a European security conference should not be delayed by preconditions. This conference should be based on the principles of peaceful coexistence including the recognition of the inviolability of present frontiers, observance of national sovereignty, the right of each people to select its own path of development, and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states. All conferees concurred in these principles as well as in the desirability of renouncing the use or threat of force and of settling outstanding issues by negotiation. Other matters discussed include the recognition of the two Germanys and their entry into the United Nations, American withdrawal from Indochina, the Middle East, disarmament, the environment, and aid to developing states.

1135
Pilisuk, Marc. INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT AND SOCIAL POLICY. With the assistance of Mehrene Larudee. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall [1972] 199 p. (Prentice-Hall series in social policy) E744.P5
Includes bibliographies.

Contents.--Introduction.--Evolution of the current American military outlook.--The third world. --War and the minds of men.--The guts of foreign policy decision making.--Real Politik and the strategists.--Is there a military-industrial complex which prevents peace?--The Dominican crisis. --American responsibility in the Greek coup.--Conclusion and projections for new policy directions.

Illustrates the influence which the internal structures like the military, the secret intelligence organizations, international corporations, and federal agencies have on events and the formation of American foreign policy by presenting case studies of American involvement in the 1962 Dominican crisis and the 1967 Greek coup. Pilisuk contends that "the policy process is not basically a rational one." He concludes that "policies are the political end products of the pressures exerted by certain interests on their own behalf" and are not in accord with the requirements for a peaceful world.

1136
Pipes, Richard. SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY: BACKGROUND AND PROSPECTS. Survey, v. 17, autumn 1971: 1-9. DK1.S549, v. 17
"This article is based on a statement made by the author to the U.S. Senate Subcommittee Hearing on Strategic Arms Limitation Talks."

That "peculiar mixture of aggressiveness and caution" which has always typified Soviet foreign policy is best understood by examining the national character of the Soviet elite. There are four factors relevant to understanding the aggressiveness of Soviet foreign policy: the elite's cultural roots in the "xenophobic, anti-Western culture of old Moscow"; the nature of the elite's claim to rule which "derives from a violent act perpetrated by a tiny minority"; the elite's jealous protection of its privileged class position; and the Russian colonial experience which taught the Soviets to deal with foreign relations in terms of subject peoples, not equal sovereign states. The factor inhibiting the Soviet elite is the unreliability of the Soviet people caused by their exhaustion from past bloodbaths, the traditional absence of militarism and the large ethnic minorities. The development of modern military technology, an event "which frees the regime from dependence on the population[,] reduces the effectiveness of that deterrent" and intensifies "the expansionist tendencies of the Soviet elite."

1137
Prifti, Peter R. ALBANIA'S EXPANDING HORIZONS. Problems of communism, v. 21, Jan./Feb. 1972: 30-39. HX1.P75, v. 21

Since the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and the enunciation of the Brezhnev Doctrine, Albania has significantly reorientated its foreign policy. Albania's leaders, who "are, in fact if not in rhetoric, nationalists first and then Communists," are protecting Albanian independence in the changing political situation in Eastern Europe by loosening ties with Peking, normalizing relations with their Balkan neighbors, and establishing diplomatic ties with Western Europe. Because the recent Chinese moves toward limited détente with the Soviet Union and the West contradict Albania's intransigence towards Communist revisionists and Western imperialists, Albanian policy is beginning to diverge from the Chinese line. Albania has improved relations with Yugoslavia and seeks broader political, trade and cultural contacts with the West in order to meet the threat of Soviet aggression.

1138
Rather, Dan. "A CONVERSATION WITH THE PRESIDENT"--JANUARY 1972. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 66, Jan. 24, 1972: 77-86. JX232.A33, v. 66

Excerpts from an interview with Pres. Richard M. Nixon, which was broadcast over CBS television on Jan. 2, 1972. The discussion ranges over a wide variety of issues--aspects of the continuing U.S. involvement in Vietnam, including the withdrawal program and the prisoner of war issue; the President's Peking and Moscow visits; other aspects of U.S.-Communist Chinese relations; the status of Taiwan; U.S. policy toward Cuba; and the situation

in the Middle East. The President denies charges that domestic political considerations will undermine his negotiating position with the two Communist powers and cause him to accept some bad bargains, as, for example, "the wrong kind of agreement with the Soviet Union . . . in the arms control field that would give them an advantage and make us the second strongest nation in the world, the wrong kind of an agreement with the Chinese, one that would discourage our friends in non-Communist Asia. . . ."

1139
Rinden, Robert W. THE SUCCESSION TO MAO TSE-TUNG. Foreign service journal, v. 49, Feb. 1972: 21-22, 42. JX1.A53, v. 49

Mao faces a major problem typical of charismatic leadership--the transfer of power at death. He experienced a "spectacular fiasco" when he designated Defense Minister Lin Piao as his successor and soon afterward disclosed Lin's unfitness for the job and removed him from public view. Because Mao has had difficulty in choosing his collaborators and because collective as opposed to "genius" leadership is currently stressed, Mao may not officially designate Chou En-lai his successor. Chou, or whoever succeeds Mao, will almost surely continue Mao's revolutionary program because an abrupt change would alarm the Chinese people who are conditioned to revere Mao's thought. Mao's writings are flexible enough, however, to legitimize his successor's gradual policy changes.

1140
Rosser, Richard F. THE DANGEROUS DECADE. Air Force magazine, v. 55, Jan. 1972: 44-48. illus. UG633.A65, v. 55

The coming decade may be the most dangerous for Soviet-American relations. The Soviet Union, as an emerging superpower, tends to be optimistic about its future and the expansion of its influence, while the mature United States, more experienced with the dangers of overcommitment, is less concerned about foreign prestige. Soviet foreign and military policies are conditioned by fear of Western "imperialism," belief in the inherent superiority of the Soviet social and economic system, and a view of world politics fundamentally different from that held in the West. These policies draw their purpose and direction from an ideology that teaches the inevitability of world communism, but they are realistic enough so that an accommodation with the West in the arms race may be possible. Soviet interest in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks appears genuine because the economic burden of the arms race is greater in Moscow than in Washington and because the Russians are probably aware of the marginal advantages of more powerful strategic forces. However, relations are endangered because the Soviet Union cannot always control its involvement in overseas regions and a trend toward worldwide military operations, especially on the part of the Soviet Navy, increases the possibility of a direct confrontation. Consequently, the United States must hope that the Soviet Union makes a rapid transition from the emerging to the mature superpower stage.

1141
Safran, Nadav. THE UNITED STATES: HOW FIRM AN ALLY IN WAR? New Middle East, no. 40, Jan. 1972: 18-19. illus. DS63.1.N48, 1972

Examines the American position in the Indo-Pakistan war as an indication of the limits of what friendship can do. Safran emphasizes that the loss of East Pakistan shows the intrinsic impossibility of the segmented state and the probable failure of an Arab state drawn together from "disconnected entities." The U.S. position in the Middle East may be stronger as a result of the Indo-Pakistan war, for the Soviets seemingly have developed closer ties with India, thus putting even greater value on an open Suez Canal. They have been careful not to block the way to the Moscow talks with President Nixon that might bring agreement on a Middle East settlement. The United States should be aware of the value of its position and the returns it can demand.

1142
Saywell, William. A SHIFTING ASIAN POWER BALANCE AND CHINA'S CHANGING PRIORITIES. In Canada. Dept. of External Affairs. International perspectives, Jan./Feb. 1972: 7-11. illus. JX351.A3, 1972

While the dominant factor that shaped Washington's new China policy was the failure of the Vietnam war and its tragic consequences, Peking's interest in the "warming" of its foreign policy toward the West stemmed mainly from the perceived threats from the Soviet Union and Japan as well as from the American withdrawal from Southeast Asia. Today, with the temporary end of open hostilities with Moscow and improved domestic relations, the Chinese have swung their attention primarily to Japan. The Chinese considered the Nixon-Sato communique, which referred to South Korea as "essential" to Japan's security, and the renewal of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty as most offensive. Peking well understands the implications of Japan's booming economy for Tokyo's future military potential, and in the light of history Peking's fear is reasonable. In view of the developments in Japanese-American relations, the Chinese have taken a much tougher position on trade relations with Japan in the hope of encouraging opposition within Japan against Sato's China policy. The combination of political opposition, the economic blow of the U.S. surtax, and Nixon's China policy "will almost certainly lead to a new leadership in Japan that will attempt as quickly as possible to improve its relations with China."

1143
Scheel, Walter. DÉTENTE IN GERMANY CAN HELP EUROPE AID IN WORLD AFFAIRS [interview] In Germany (Federal Republic, 1949-). Presse- und Informationsamt. Bulletin, v. 20, Jan. 18, 1972: 17-19.
DD259.A35, v. 20

Excerpts from an interview with Foreign Minister Walter Scheel on the Saar Radio on January 9, 1972.

This year a summit conference of the enlarged European Economic Community (EEC) will have to define the Market's political role vis-a-vis the United States, Eastern Europe, and the Third World. In foreign affairs the EEC must speak with one voice as it moves toward a political structure, possibly the federation proposed by President Pompidou. In the meantime multilateral preparations are being made for an all-European security conference to be held once the Berlin agreements take effect and the Bundestag has ratified the Treaties of Moscow and Warsaw. The two Germanys will seek to arrive at a contractual relationship in 1972. This normalization of relations is a necessary step before the Federal Republic seeks membership in the United Nations.

1144
Schmidt, Helmut. BONN'S PERSPECTIVE ON EAST ASIA, AN AREA IN TRANSITION. In Germany (Federal Republic, 1949-). Presse- und Informationsamt. Bulletin, v. 20, Jan. 11, 1972: 12-13. illus.
DD259.A35, v. 20

Observations of the West German Minister of Defense after a visit to East Asia and the Pacific. Schmidt summarizes the results of his trip around three points: Thailand, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand unconditionally support Bonn's Ostpolitik, West German ties have been strengthened with these four countries, and China is slowly rising to world-power status, requiring increased attention from Bonn to the Asian-Pacific area. Schmidt states that, while China's neighbors do not question Peking's growing independence in international affairs, the normalization of relations is complicated by the triangular relationship between Peking, Moscow, and Washington, developments in Indochina, and the Taiwan question.

1145
Schmidt, Helmut. [DÉTENTE AND SECURITY POLICY. "THE USA AS THE FOREMOST POWER OF THE WEST GUARANTEES THE SECURITY OF EUROPE"] Entspannungs- und Sicherheitspolitik. "Die USA als führende Macht des Westens verbürgen Sicherheit Europas." Soldat und Technik, v. 14, Dec. 1971: 673-674.
U3.S58, v. 14

"Speech by the Federal Minister of Defense before the American Chamber of Commerce in Frankfurt/Main."

In accordance with the reorientation of American foreign policy given by the Nixon doctrine the United States will in the years ahead define and limit its commitments. It will give foreign policy a less pretentious profile, giving up its universalistic and sometimes crusading concepts. It will soberly weigh its interests on a region-by-region basis and wage a defensive policy, all the while thinking and acting in terms of the balance of power. The United States must maintain the balance of power if it is to remain a world power and for this reason cannot abandon its commitment to Europe. This commitment is the mainstay of the Atlantic Alliance, which in turn provides not only the needed security but the essential background for the evolution of a policy to reduce tensions between East and West. Détente by itself is a useless and dangerous concept. To be an effective policy, it must be accompanied by military preparedness.

1146
Sharma, Kashiram. MONGOLIA'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION--1949-69. China report, v. 7, July/Aug. 1971: 44-58.
DS777.55.C4484, v. 7

The landlocked Mongolian People's Republic is a classic buffer state whose foreign policy has consisted largely in managing relations with its two powerful neighbors. Soviet economic aid to Mongolia has been so pervasive that hardly any sector of the economy is unaffected. While Chinese aid has been substantial, Moscow has given much more, so Mongolia would not hesitate to choose between the two feuding states in this area. Although its problems are similar to China's, Mongolia has rejected the Chinese economic model. Sino-Mongolian relations for the first dozen years of the People's Republic of China were very close. Relations have deteriorated significantly since the 1962 border agreement, "the most absolute and categorical declaration by China that it accepts the existence of an independent Mongolia." Anti-Chinese feelings can be stirred up only to a limited degree, for both China and the Soviet Union have Mongol minorities, and pan-Mongolism might be the result. There is evidence of the existence of a nationalistic, pro-China faction in the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. China says it has no desire to reincorporate Mongolia, but the Soviets and Mongols keep reiterating this threat. "To conclude, the improvement in Sino-Mongolian relations depends entirely upon an improvement in Sino-Soviet relations."

1147
Shub, Louis. THE UNITED STATES AND ISRAEL IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. [Los Angeles, Center for the Study of Contemporary Jewish Life, University of Judaism, 1970] 27 p. (Jewish affairs. Background reports, v. 1, no. 1)
DS63.2.U5S44

Contents.--Preface.--Introduction.--Cease-fire: political fallout.--American-Israel credibility

gap.--Vietnam and Israel.--U.S.A.-U.S.S.R. confrontation: intervention in Jordan.--Mediterranean profile: military and diplomatic.--Yugoslavia: "neutralizing" the Mediterranean.--Spain and the United States: partners in the Mediterranean.--Spain-Israel: shifting historical ties.--Spain's Jewish profile: vintage 1970.--Greece: "normalized democracy."--Epilogue.

"Examine[s] the nature of the common interests and differences that have characterized Israel-American relations during the past year." Shub maintains that although the Israelis viewed with suspicion American peace initiatives in the Middle East, the common goal of containing Soviet interventionism in the area minimized the tensions created by these initiatives.

1148
Singh, Sangat. PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY: AN APPRAISAL. London, Asia Publishing House, 1970. 260 p. DS383.5.A2S55 1970b
Bibliography: p. [236]-249.

Partial contents.--The determinant factors-I: inner compulsions.--The determinant factors-II: attitude towards India.--Pakistan and the West.--Pakistan and China.--Pakistan and the Soviet Union.--The recent phase.--The prospects.--Appendixes.

Examines Pakistan's foreign policy since 1947. Sangat notes three phases in the development of this policy, the first characterized by an independent policy, the second by the establishment of a dialog with Communist China, and the third by a dual alinement with China and the West. He contends that Pakistani leaders have been forced into a negative approach in their foreign policy, particularly as regards India, and illustrates how this approach has taken Pakistan from one posture to another in its relations with the West, China, and the Soviet Union.

1149
Smith, Howard K., and Ted Koppel. "A CONVERSATION WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE"--JANUARY 1972. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 66, Jan. 24, 1972: 87-95. JX232.A33, v. 66

Interview with U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers, which was "videotaped January 4 for ABC network broadcasts beginning January 5," 1972. The discussion encompasses a wide spectrum of foreign policy issues--the viability of the Nixon doctrine in light of the Soviet military buildup at home and abroad; moves toward a settlement of the Vietnam war; progress of the Vietnamization program; the President's Peking visit; the situation in the Middle East; the efficacy of foreign aid; and U.S. policy in regard to the Indo-Pakistani dispute. Rogers concedes that the United States is making substantial cutbacks abroad while the Soviet Union is continuing to build up its already impressive military capabilities. He contends, however, that the United States still has "a strong military establishment and . . . [is] going to maintain that, because in order to work for peace in the world, in order to have an effective diplomacy, it is essential that [the United States] remain strong militarily."

1150
Soong, Ching-ling. THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA. In U.S. Consulate General, Hong Kong. Selections from China mainland magazines, no. 722, Jan. 24-31, 1972: 96-98. Micro 01326
Reprint of an article in China Reconstructs, v. 21, Jan. 1972: 2-5. illus. DS701.C643, v. 21

President Nixon once advocated bombing China, but "the reality of China during the past twenty years has brought about his new realization" that America's foreign policy must take Peking into account. The "reality of China" is the development by the united Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party, of a revolutionary Socialist state, fighting in fraternal solidarity with the revolutionary peoples of the world and carrying them to "the threshold of a new era of the people."

1151
Stennis, John C., and J. William Fulbright. THE ROLE OF CONGRESS IN FOREIGN POLICY. Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research [1971] 139 p. (Rational debate seminars) KF4651.S74
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--First lecture, by John C. Stennis.--Second lecture, by J. William Fulbright.--Rebuttals.--Discussion.--Notes.--Appendix.

Debate over the roles of the Legislative and Executive Departments in the conduct of foreign relations. Senator Stennis maintains that, while a fine distinction between the two roles may never be drawn, Congress should not be turned into a war room "to direct battles, prescribe tactics, control strategies, draw boundaries" and otherwise usurp the responsibilities and prerogatives of the President and his appointees. Senator Fulbright holds the view that "the intent of the framers of the Constitution with the respect to the exercise of the war power has been virtually nullified as a result of unauthorized uses of the armed forces by every President since World War II." The appendix contains the text of President Nixon's October 7, 1970 address titled "A New Peace Initiative for all Indochina" along with comments on it by Senators Stennis and Fulbright.

1152
Töpelmann, Gerhard. TIME BOMBS SHOULD BE DEFUSED AND DISPOSED OF AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. GDR re-

view, v. 16, Dec. 1971: 54-56.
DD261.G2, v. 16

Still menacing the peace and security of Europe are the political time bombs planted at the end of World War II and augmented by postwar imperialist policy. That these bombs have not exploded can be attributed only to the growth and strength of the Socialist bloc. It is this changed relationship of forces that has caused the West to recognize current realities in the Berlin Agreement, the Treaties of Moscow and Warsaw, and the Brandt-Brezhnev communique. The time bombs will be finally defused only when Bonn ratifies and executes the treaties, the four-power Berlin Agreement enters into force along with the necessary treaties between the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), and the discrimination in relations between states has been eliminated. The West German Government has, however, made statements designed to delay the entry of the German states into the United Nations and to postpone recognition of the German Democratic Republic (GDR). That the GDR and the FRG work together on an equal footing in almost 500 international organizations belies the assertion that two German states of totally different economic and social systems cannot operate in international bodies. The time is ripe for full international recognition of the GDR. The GDR will not accept anything less, certainly not "special inner-German relations" that would not be valid under international law.

1153
Trivers, Howard. MYTHS, SLOGANS, AND VIETNAM; SPECIOUS ABSTRACTION AND FOREIGN POLICY. Virginia quarterly review, v. 48, winter 1972: 1-23.
AP2.V76, v. 48

First given as a public lecture at Southern Illinois University in the winter of 1971. An enlarged version is to be published in a book of the same title.

"Specious abstraction," the erroneous identification of the abstract as the concrete, has given rise to myths and slogans like the question of who "lost" China, "liberation" of Eastern Europe, "massive retaliation," "containment," and "cold war." "The folly of Vietnam has been the most complete triumph of 'specious abstraction' in the history of our foreign affairs." Policymakers failed to consider the effect of the Sino-Soviet split on Vietnamese events, assumed a similarity with the Korean war, equated the Vietnamese Communists with a hypothetical Chinese expansionism, deluded themselves about the viability of an independent South Vietnam, persisted in seeing the problem as military rather than political, and completely misjudged the North Vietnamese reaction to bombing. By serving to dampen serious debate and review, managerial methodology became a grand but specious abstraction supporting and supported by hubris and resulting in overcommitment. The concrete in American foreign policy is the pursuit of attainable goals, the fulfillment of necessary national interests, and the recognition of the legitimate interests of others. To realize these objectives, policy should be continuously reviewed and examined against the backdrop of the domestic scene. Sensitive and responsive to the views of allies, it must be divorced from considerations of prestige per se.

1154
Uliassi, Pio D. THE PRINCE'S COUNSELORS: NOTES ON GOVERNMENT SPONSORED RESEARCH ON INTERNATIONAL AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS. In The use and abuse of social science. Edited by Irving L. Horowitz. New Brunswick, N.J., Transaction Books; distributed by Dutton [New York, 1971] p. 309-342. illus. (Transaction studies in social policy, SP2)
H53.U5U8

Notes: p. 336-342.
"The essays contained in The Use and Abuse of Social Science are drawn from papers originally presented at a conference on the theme of social science and national policy, held in November 1969 at Rutgers University."

The basic pattern of Government-sponsored research has come to be the "project" system, i.e., specific research tasks contracted for and to some extent controlled by the interested agencies. This system develops more tensions with social scientists in foreign and international affairs than in the domestic policy area, because of the nature of the agencies' national security missions. Only a small amount of social-science funding goes to foreign affairs research, but even this has had a noticeable impact. Outlays for Defense Department research have been greater than those for all civilian foreign policy agencies combined, but half of all Government-sponsored foreign affairs research is now funded by civilian agencies operating in the educational, scientific and cultural areas. These agencies place almost all their domestically-sponsored projects with university scholars, to whom foreign affairs and military agencies give noticeably fewer contracts, accounting for the tremendous postwar growth of nonacademic research institutions. Basic research is not the prime consideration of Federal programs, for most research topics must depend on only one or a few interested agencies for funding. Government sponsorship obviously affects the selection of topics, but it would be difficult to demonstrate that it greatly influences the formulation of selected problems. The politicization of foreign affairs research is a factor, for sponsored research is related to the objectives of the sponsor in a way that purely scientific research is not. Government sponsorship has led to greater complexity in the areas of personal moral responsibility and the ethics of professional conduct. The Government by no means uses all sponsored research. Much is considered impractical or irrelevant. Communicating research findings to busy responsible officials is an overlooked problem, as is the role of bureaucratic interests and rivalries in the decisionmaking process. Sponsored research is only one of the informational inputs that feed the process of policy choice.

1155
U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs. UNITED STATES-REPUBLIC OF CHINA RELATIONS. Hearings, Ninety-second Congress, first session. Oct. 20, 21, and 26, 1971. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 84 p. illus.
KF27.F638 1971c
Supt. of Docs. no.: Y4.F76/1:C44/11.
Cornelius E. Gallagher, chairman of subcommittee.

Assesses the political, military, and economic relations between the United States and the Republic of China on Taiwan, as well as the strategic importance of that island and the policies of the Nationalist Government vis-a-vis the mainland People's Republic. Testifying were Professors Ralph L. Powell, Franz Michael, and Yuân-li Wu, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Policy Planning and Arms Control, Leo J. Moser, head of the State Department's Republic of China desk, and Robert Y. Lee, all of whom expressed support for the Taiwan regime. Subcommittee Chairman Cornelius E. Gallagher stated that "the prime focus of these hearings is to highlight the inescapable fact that no matter how the [then pending] United Nations vote [on Chinese representation] will go, our alliance and our friendship with the Republic of China must remain an essential ingredient in the pursuit of peace." Appendixes include the texts of the 1954 Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty and the 1955 Formosa Resolution.

1156
U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS RELATING TO THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. Hearings, Ninety-second Congress, first session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 726 p.
KF26.F6 1971d
Hearings held April 20-May 27, 1971 on S. 376, 974; S. J. Res. 82, 89; S. Con. Res. 17; S. Res. 62, 66.
Includes bibliographical references.

Testimony, discussions, and insertions for the record relevant to legislative proposals for ending the war in Vietnam and securing return of the prisoners.

1157
U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. WAR POWERS; report, together with additional views of Senator Fulbright and individual views of Senator John Sherman Cooper, to accompany S. 2956. [Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972] 33 p. (92d Congress, 2d session. Report no. 92-606) DLC

Recommends adoption of the War Powers Act of 1971 as amended, to stop the erosion of Congressional responsibility and the expansion of executive power in the use of armed forces in the absence of a Congressional declaration of war. Senators Fulbright and Cooper support passage of the bill but Fulbright suggests two changes to further restrict the executive prerogative in the use of armed forces and Cooper proposes three amendments to strengthen Congressional war powers.

1158
U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. WAR POWERS LEGISLATION. Hearings, Ninety-second Congress, first session, on S. 731, S.J. Res. 18 and S.J. Res. 59. Mar. 8, 9, 24 and 25, Apr. 23 and 26, May 14, July 26 and 27, Oct. 6, 1971. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972. 873 p. DLC

Testimony by scholars, current and former Government officials along with historical legislative notes and reprinted articles on the War Powers Act of 1971 "governing the use of the Armed Forces of the United States in the absence of a declaration of war by the Congress."

1159
U.S. Dept. of State. UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY 1971; A REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE. [Washington, For sale by the Supt. of Documents, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972] 604 p. illus. (U.S. Dept. of State. Publication 8634)
DLC
General foreign policy series 260.

Contents.--American foreign policy: innovation and involvement.--Policy developments by geographic region.--Economic affairs.--International security.--International organizations and law.--Social and scientific dimensions.--Management.--Annex.

Traces the progress of American foreign policy in the last three years and examines the philosophy it represents. Secretary of State Rogers observes that while the nuclear shadow has not lifted, "some of the sharp edges of ideological hostility are growing dull and attempts to break the chains of contention are finding repsonses." The Secretary believes that significant progress has been made in strategic arms negotiations and he refers to agreements reached about the ABMs. Included in the annex are copies of principal foreign policy speeches and statements by President Nixon and Secretary Rogers, Presidential messages to the Congress, and texts of selected treaties and agreements signed or ratified in 1971.

1160
Ushiba, H. E. Nobuhiko. U.S.-JAPAN CLOSE COOPERATION: THE COMMUNICATIONS GAP. Vital speeches of the day, v. 37, Feb. 15, 1972: 280-283.
PN6121.V52, v. 37
"Delivered before The Commonwealth Club of California, San Francisco, California, January 10, 1972."

The shocks and disagreements suffered recently by Japan and the United States may have paved the way for a new cohesion or creative synthesis, since both countries now realize how much could be lost in a prolonged, serious quarrel. If economic problems can be resolved, perhaps through a joint drive to increase world trade, attention can be turned to the problems of peace in Asia and interaction with China. Sino-American discussions should take into account Japan's need to improve its relations with China and to strengthen further its American ties. Although obviously Japanese-American communication should be greatly improved, identification of the problem is easier than finding a solution. Cultural differences as well as language problems create a communication gap that must be narrowed. Close collaboration of the two nations is not only desirable but vital.

1161
Vukadinović, Radovan. AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY DILEMMAS. Review of international affairs, v. 22, Nov. 5, 1971: 21-23.
D839.R4, v. 22

The Vietnam war has created a major sociopolitical dilemma for the United States and stimulated a strong political link between a policy of normal domestic development and a rational foreign policy. The debate over Vietnam has produced a dialog in American foreign policy between the globalists and the neoisolationists. The globalists consider that despite setbacks America can be proud of its foreign policy and must retain its broad obligations to the free world in the struggle against the Communist bloc. The neoisolationists insist that America reduce its commitments around the world in view of changing international relations and the growing domestic crisis. There is no danger that America will isolate itself from world realities, but it must reevaluate its foreign and domestic policies for the seventies if it is to return to its former influential role in the international community.

1162
Watt, D. C. AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND VIETNAM. Political quarterly, v. 43, Jan./Mar. 1972: 89-102. JA8.P72, v. 43

Probes the events that brought the United States "into the first military defeat in American history," one suffered at the hands of a minor undeveloped Asian state. Relying on the Pentagon Papers, Watt recreates the atmosphere of the early sixties when the dominoe theory seemed to describe an enduring threat, and indicates that American intervention played some part in dispelling the menace in Southeast Asia. However, U.S. military strategy lacked tactical skill and was not based on a realistic appraisal of the Vietcong. The same ignorance of the nature of the enemy was observable in the negotiations. Calling for a realistic approach to foreign policy, Watt concludes with a warning against the trend toward isolationism he thinks evident in the country. America's "relative decline in world power necessitates the cultivation rather than the penalisation of states friendly to her."

1163
Welch, William. SOVIET EXPANSIONISM AND ITS ASSESSMENT. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 15, Sept. 1971: 317-327. illus.
JX1901.J6, v. 15

This article reports an effort to evaluate and assess more precisely Soviet expansionism. An adequate procedure is described and applied to the historical record, concluding with selected comparisons. Its findings are: (1) that existing treatments--those expounding the view that Soviet expansionism is extreme, relentless, and exceptional and those expounding the view that such expansionism is moderate, intermittent, and unexceptional--are deficient in method; (2) that proper method requires separating out different degrees of control (direct rule, indirect rule, influence), giving attention to the entire record rather than part thereof, and expressing change in relative rather than absolute terms; (3) that applying such method to the Soviet case shows expansion of direct rule over a fifty-year period of 0.5 to 8 percent, depending on year chosen as start of period, 8.3 to 18 percent in the case of direct and indirect rule combined; (4) that these figures exceed figures for Western counterparts and Tsarist Russia, but fall below those for early Tsarist Russia, Nazi Germany, and the US; (5) that while much needs to be done to refine and strengthen application of the required method, there is good reason for considering the first view as in (3) above the sounder one. (Abstract supplied)

1164
WHAT IS BEHIND GROMYKO'S TOKYO VISIT. Peking review, v. 15, Feb. 11, 1972: 19-20.
DS701.P42, v. 15

Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's January 1971 talks in Tokyo with his Japanese counterpart Fukuda and Prime Minister Sato were "an important step taken by Soviet revisionist social-imperialism to step up collusion with the Japanese reactionaries in opposing the people of China and other Asian countries and to contend with U.S. imperialism for spheres of influence in Asia." Gromyko did everything he could to please the Sato gang. The Soviet campaign for closer relations with the Japanese reactionaries is another effort to sabotage the Asian peoples' national liberation struggles and to oppose Socialist China. The Soviets are attempting to take advantage of the increasing economic and other difficulties between the United States and Japan, holding out economic cooperation and retrocession of the so-called Soviet occupied "northern territory" as bait.

1165
Wolfe, James H. WEST GERMANY'S OSTPOLITIK. World affairs (Washington) v. 134, winter 1971: 210-219.
JX1901.W7, v. 134

A review of the history of West German Ostpolitik and its domestic impact dividing postwar German foreign policy into several phases. Wolfe traces the development of Ostpolitik from its early phase when Gerhard Schroeder and later the Kiesinger-Brandt Government sought to abandon the Hallstein doctrine, isolate East Germany, and cultivate better relations with East Europe while avoiding going through Moscow. The second phase began after the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia forced Brandt to realize that negotiations with the East European states without first going through Moscow were not only futile but dangerous. Wolfe discusses Ostpolitik as a domestic German issue and warns that because the Brandt Government could be forced into extreme positions and the Social Democratic and Christian Democratic Parties are being factionalized, there may be "a return to the autocratic political style characteristic of German politics in the Adenauer era."

TENSION AREAS

1166
Anand, J. P. SINO-SOVIET RIVALRY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA. In Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. Journal, v. 3, Apr. 1971: 550-581.
UA840.I55, v. 3

Describes the growing rivalry between the Soviet Union and Communist China for political and economic influence in the states of the Indian Ocean littoral. This rivalry has become a major factor in the politics of the region. As U.S. influence declines, Sino-Soviet competition grows fiercer. The Soviet Union has gained the advantage with the Arabs and at sea; China has the upper hand in Pakistan, Tanzania, and Nepal. A convergence of views between the United States and China has emerged on many issues, among them Soviet naval activity in the Indian Ocean and the secession movement of Bangladesh. There is thus a real danger that the West will play into Chinese hands in this part of the world.

1167
Barth, Zeev. [ISRAEL AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY: ATTEMPT TO DRAW AN ANNUAL POLITICAL BALANCE] Israel und die Völkergemeinschaft: Versuch einer politischen Jahresbilanz. Israel-Forum, v. 14, Feb. 1972: 71-74. DS113.I8, v. 14

The 1971 vote for the Middle East resolution in the U.N. General Assembly, where anti-Israeli forces have gained ground, is indicative of the poor press that the Jewish state currently receives. The world applauded Israel in 1967 when it was threatened with extinction, but many of its former friends have deserted it. Many reasons have been put forth for this alienation: a change in the role of underdog, the unpopularity of the United States with which Israel is associated, the enmity of the Soviet Union and China, and the "anti-imperialist" sentiment in the Third World. The situation, however, is such that given the alternative of American weapons or an improved image Israel would have to opt for arms as a matter of sheer survival. "As long as the Arabs can play the role of the guiltless victim and seem believable in this role thanks to the short memory of man Israel has little prospect of having both a good press and good, defensible borders."

1168
Beecher, William. JORDAN: ON THE RAZOR'S EDGE. Army, v. 22, Jan. 1972: 41-44. illus.
U1.A893, v. 22

With the defeat of the Fedayeen in late 1970 and early 1971, Jordan shifted its military priorities from internal security to the deployment of major forces along the Syrian and Iraqi borders. To reflect this reorientation, Amman has tranformed its infantry-dominated army into a mechanized one: its 60,000-man force now consists of one armored, one mechanized, and two infantry divisions. Most of its tank force is located in the northern areas, while the western border along Israel is guarded by the infantry. A difficult decision for Amman will be whether to "unleash" specially-trained and loyal Jordanian Fedayeen across the western border against a superior Israeli force. To do so would invite retaliation, but it might also help convince some Arab neighbors who have been critical of Jordan's military role in the area that Amman is still in the fight against Israel.

1169
Bopp, Eberhard. [BERLIN--AN EMERGENCY SETTLEMENT. CRITICAL POINTS IN THE FOUR-POWER AGREEMENT] Berlin--eine Notstandsregelung. Kritische Punkte im Viermächte-Abkommen. Politische Meinung, v. 16, Nov./Dec. 1971: 59-62.
H5.P75, v. 16

Inspects the text of the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin and faults it for its lack of concrete commitment, its failure to include East Berlin, and its overly-protective attitude toward the sensibilities of the German Democratic Republic at the expense of those of Berlin and the Federal Republic. Bopp terms the agreement nothing more than an emergency measure which probably represents the best deal obtainable since the Soviets as masters of the access routes were in the better bargaining position.

1170
Clubb, O. Edmund. CHINA & RUSSIA; THE "GREAT GAME." New York, Columbia University Press, 1971. 578 p.

illus. (Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University) DS740.5.R8C63
Bibliography: p. 554-560.

Partial contents.--Introduction: Chinese, Russians, and Mongols.--The meeting of empires.--Triangle in East Asia.--The "Great Game" in Central Asia.--War, revolution, and imperialism.--Revolution and the Manchu borderlands.--The Russian revolution and China.--Peking-Moscow relations in crisis.--Moscow and Chinese revolutionaries, 1923-1926.--End of the revolutionary alliance.--Year of decision: 1936.--Twilight in the Sino-Japanese war.--Revolutionary change.--Mid-century: new directions.--Revolutionary war and the economic factor.--Sino-Soviet collaboration, 1953-1955.--Developments in the alliance, 1956-1957.--Gathering storm, 1958-1959.--1960: open conflict.--Bloc polemics, 1961-1963.--Sino-Soviet cold war, 1964-1965.--The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and Sino-Soviet relations.--Confrontation in the borderlands.--Epilogue: Chinese, Russians, and Americans.

A history of Russian-Chinese relations from the first moment of contact in Central Asia in the seventeenth century to the present, the aim being to illuminate the sources of the Sino-Soviet dispute, tentatively estimate its most probable outcome, and determine its consequences for U.S. foreign policy. The triangular relationship that now exists among the United States, the Soviet Union, and Communist China offers each of the participants complex opportunities to play off one rival against the other to their mutual detriment. Clubb foresees that "as things stand today, it must be anticipated that China and the USSR will probably find compelling reasons to sustain a measure of collaboration in Asia--even after three centuries of massive contest."

1171
Edelsberg, Herman. WHOSE FIGHT IN THE MIDDLE EAST? AN ANALYSIS OF AMERICA'S NATIONAL INTEREST. [Washington, B'nai B'rith International Council, 1970] 23 p. DS63.2.U5E33

Surveys American involvement in the Middle East from the standpoints of national interest, understood as including not only the promotion of power and profit but also traditional moral purpose and national commitment. Edelsberg holds that material and moral considerations join in requiring the United States to foster peace and stability in the Middle East. To do this, he urges a just and lasting peace and Washington's recognition that the political strategy of Cairo and Moscow is "to exploit the issue of Israel in a drive for domination; and that the American position--strategic and moral--would be gravely weakened if the Soviets were permitted to overrun Israel or even to bomb Israel away from the cease-fire lines on the Suez Canal."

1172
End, Heinrich. [THE MEDITERRANEAN AS A POLITICAL TENSION AREA] Das Mittelmeer als politisches Spannungsfeld. Europa-Archiv, v. 26, Nov. 10, 1971: 741-750. D839.E86, v. 26

Examines the global and regional dimensions of Mediterranean tension from the point of view of the littoral states. The Middle East conflict, Soviet penetration, and the internal unrest in many Mediterranean countries have caused great concern for the security of the entire area. Although the progressive Arab States seek complete neutralization of the Mediterranean Sea, End asserts that such disparate states as Yugoslavia, Romania, and Israel prefer a credible American presence to balance or even offset the Soviet fleet. End concludes that the asymmetrical balance of power currently preserving order in the region appears to be the best guarantee against the outbreak of nuclear war or frequent conventional wars until a Middle East solution is found and true détente reigns in Europe.

1173
Eran, Oded, and Jerome E. Singer. SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS THE ARAB WORLD 1955-71. Survey, v. 17, autumn 1971: 10-29. DK1.S549, v. 17

Soviet policy towards the Arab States since 1955 can be divided into four distinct phases marked by a progressive upgrading of Soviet strategic objectives. After three decades of "nonpolicy" the Soviet Union embarked in 1955 on a minimalist strategy--"the denial of the area to the West"--which did not involve Soviet presence in the area. In 1959 Moscow feared Egyptian hegemony and so adopted a policy to contain Nasserism. After 1963, with the passing of the fear of Nasserism, the deepening of competition between Mosdow and Peking for the loyalties of the Third World, and the increasing need for Soviet naval bases in the Mediterranean, the Soviet Union established openly pro-Soviet Arab regimes by deliberately exacerbating the Arab-Israeli dispute. In 1967 Moscow decided to establish its hegemony over the area by taking advantage of the Arab defeat in the six-day war. The Soviet Union faced another turning point in 1971 when the failure of pro-Soviet bids for power in Egypt, Sudan and Yemen resulted in decreased Soviet willingness to involve itself militarily "where its political influence has not increased to a degree commensurate with such [military] involvement."

1174
Evron, Yair. MOSCOW MOVES CLOSER TO DELHI: WHAT WILL IT MEAN FOR EGYPT? New Middle East, no. 40, Jan. 1972: 15-17. illus. DS63.1.N48, 1972

Observes the shifting relationships of the Soviet Union, China, and the United States and analyzes the significance of these shifts for leaders in the Middle East. Evron points out that when two nuclear powers are interested in a local confrontation, each will deter the other from intervention and the local military action can be played

out. Egypt should consider this before starting a war with Israel. On the other hand, because of the credibility of its nuclear strength the Soviet Union might be willing to use military threats in the interests of opening the Suez Canal.

1175
Galtung, Johan. THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE THEORY OF CONFLICT. Journal of peace research, v. 8, nos. 3/4, 1971: 173-206. illus.
AS9.J6, v. 8

The article presents some elements of a theory of conflict in general, and of the conflict in the Middle East in particular. It deals with the origin and the definition of the conflict, with its dynamics and with its possible resolution. The conflict concerns the accommodation of Jews in the Middle East; and this conflict is seen as having two major dimensions, one territorial and one social. A major point in the article is that solutions along the territorial axis alone will fail. Israel may encapsulate herself with a combination of electromagnetic sensors, mining, UN troops stationed on both sides of the borders etc (e.g. pre-June borders). This will not be a stable solution, however, but will in all probability lead to a succession of wars in the area. Solutions might therefore be found by combining the territorial and social perspectives. The Jews should be willing to participate in a more pluralist state. But time is certainly not ripe for a one state solution, and a two state solution might be a continuation of status quo. A canton solution is therefore preferred, one which could also accommodate for differences between Jews and between Arabs. No "solution" to the Middle East conflict being easy, the article attempts to show that other types of "solutions" may be even more unattainable. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1176
Geyer, Georgie A. LOVE AND HATE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Progressive, v. 36, Apr. 1972: 27-30. illus.
AP2.P8655, v. 36

Although Arab leaders and intellectuals feel an affinity for the West and an aversion to the godless Eastern Mongols and Russians, they maintain relations with the Soviet Union because that association is productive, while the Western connection is barren. Their pride has been badly damaged by American inability to see the justice of their cause. "It seems clear today that the United States could have helped keep the Arab World in the Western camp and at the same time made Israel much more secure than it is today," for Nasser was pragmatic about Israel and positive about America. If, in the late fifties, the United States had been sensitive to Arab dignity and a rising people's need for recognition, it could have taken the sting out of the Middle East conflict. The Arabs hate Israel not for religious or ethnic reasons but because Israel has demonstrated the Westernization and the ability to succeed that the Arabs vainly sought. It is this "that affronts and infuriates and drives the Arabs" and goads them along blind and irrational paths.

1177
Grosser, Alfred. GERMANY IN OUR TIME; A POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE POSTWAR YEARS. Translated by Paul Stephenson. New York, Praeger [1971] 378 p. illus.
DD257.4.G77913
Translation of L'Allemagne de notre temps.
DD257.4.G779
Bibliography: p. 347-370.

Contents.--Introduction: 1945--the legacy of the past.--pt. 1. The conquerors' Germany: The take-over. Nuremberg and denazification. The occupying powers and the German people. Cold war, political division and limited sovereignty.--pt. 2. The West German democracy: The foundations of the state. Political institutions. Elections and party politics. Economic and social forces. Moral and intellectual trends.--pt. 3. The "other Germany" and the German problem: The "Socialist State of the German Nation." Foreign affairs and world politics. Conclusion: Germany in our time.--Notes.--Critical bibliography.--Index.

Examines the two Germanys and their place in Europe from the point of view that despite sharing the same nationality each belongs to a different and mutually antagonistic world. Officially East Germany regards itself as a patrie in its own right. In the West, the idea of a German nation transcending the boundaries of the Federal Republic is now replacing a short-lived but unsuccessful attempt to make Europe the object of popular affection. "If the Federal Republic succeeds on the one hand in escaping the contagion of overgrown nationalism, and on the other in overcoming the state of inertia in which its highest collective ambition is to achieve comfort and respectability, then the world will have little cause to complain." The solution to the problems created by the two Germanys and their latent nationalism may lie, Grosser suggests, in the discovery and practice of transnational solidarities by national groups. The absorption of the two Germanys into two different worlds requires France, England, and the United States "to understand what this means in terms of solidarity and responsibility" and the West Germans to ask themselves what they can creatively contribute.

1178
Gumpel, Werner. [THE SOVIET UNION: PETROLEUM AND MIDDLE EAST POLICY] Sowjetunion: Erdöl und Nahostpolitik. Aussenpolitik, v. 22, Nov. 1971: 670-681.
D839.A885, v. 22

Since the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact partners by the 1980's will no longer be able to meet their petroleum requirements from their own resources and since substitute means--water power and atomic energy--will not be sufficiently devel-

oped, the Soviet Union must seek to assure continued sources of supply. The Eastern bloc's requirements will grow considerably as rural electrification programs and private automobile ownership continue to expand, outstripping the substantial but limited oil reserves available. The need for oil, therefore, is a determining factor in Moscow's Middle Eastern policy. That policy is aimed at intensifying Soviet political and military influence in the Arab States to the point that they become direct satellites like the Eastern European states. "There is no doubt that the Soviet commitment in the Middle Eastern area is determined to a decisive degree by the energy needs of the U.S.S.R. and represents an urgent economic necessity."

1179
Johnson, Gerald W. HANNIBAL FOR PRESIDENT. American scholar, v. 41, winter 1971-72: 29-39.
AP2.A4572, v. 41

Explores the current American status as an imperial power with consequent duties and responsibilities and explains the dangers threatening its survival. Johnson contends that maintenance of power has traditionally depended on military strength, but today such strength is based on nuclear weapons too terrible to employ. Thus, "war as a support of imperialism is definitely out." The nearly impossible task of revamping the American system to fit modern demands must be undertaken by a combination of competent leadership and well-informed public opinion. "To make the imperial republic worth more than it costs the rest of the world is one way to assure its survival in a world bristling with thermonuclear weapons."

1180
Kaminski, Gerd. [CHINA, TAIWAN; HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND INTERNATIONAL LEGAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE CHINA PROBLEM] China, Taiwan; historische, politische und völkerrechtliche Betrachtungen zum China-Problem. [Frankfurt am Main] Athenäum Verlag [c1971] 327 p. (Völkerrecht und Aussenpolitik, 12) DS777.55.K225
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface.--pt. 1. Chinese views on China and its position in the world.--pt. 2. The roots of the China-Taiwan problem in the domestic and foreign policy relationships of China in the period between 1911 and 1949.--pt. 3. Two Chinese governments--one China.--Appendix.

Discusses the historical, political, and legal aspects of divided China and the prospects for Taiwan's reversion to mainland control. Asserting that unity has been a dominant theme throughout Chinese history, Kaminski conjectures that an accommodation will be reached after Chiang Kai-shek's departure from the scene, perhaps at his son's initiative. The increasing prestige of Communist China gives a sense of pride to the Chinese on Taiwan as well, so strong and fundamental is the sentiment of Chinese nationalism and unity.

1181
[KOREAN UNIFICATION.] Korea journal, v. 11, Nov. 1971: 4-29. DS901.K7, v. 11
Selection of papers presented at "an international symposium on the problems of Korean unification . . . held at the Freedom Center in Seoul from October 18 to 23 [1971] under the sponsorship of Yeongnam University in Taegu with the assistance of the Board of National Unification of the Republic of Korea government."

Contents.--The particular environment of Korea, by Sheen Doh-sung.--The initiative for Korean unification, by Hahm Pyong-choon.--Hypotheses concerning ROK policy toward North Korea, by Cottfried-Karl Kindermann.--On the problems of Korean unification, by Fuji Kamiya.--For the reintegration of Korea, by William E. Henthorn.--To open a decade of unification, by Han Nae-bok.

Surveys prospects and problems in bringing about the reunification of North and South Korea. The position of the two nations in the context of international politics, the example of initiatives between the two Germanys, the attitudes of each state toward unification, and the meaning of the North and South Korean Red Cross Society talks are discussed.

1182
Morgenthau, Hans J. AGREEMENT ON BERLIN. New republic, v. 165, Dec. 25, 1971: 16-18.
AP2.N624, v. 165

The end of the cold war now is near. The Soviet-West German and Polish-West German renunciation-of-force treaties and the four-power Berlin Agreement, which can be ratified now that the two Germanys have resolved the problem of traffic to and from West Berlin, serve in effect as a peace treaty recognizing the territorial status quo that emerged after World War II. Germany was the actual and symbolic battleground of the cold war's failure to recognize the status quo. It became obvious in the 1950's and 1960's that acceptance of the reality and permanence of the status quo would bring greater benefits than continued hostility. The agreements stabilize the Soviet position in Eastern Europe and give West Germany greater freedom of action internationally. It should now be possible for both sides to relax their military postures in Europe, resulting possibly in new areas of conflict. The Soviet Union would like to achieve effective hegemony in a neutralized Europe without disturbing the status quo by means of a European security conference. The settlements in Europe free the Soviet Union to concentrate on its China problem and expand its power and influence elsewhere. "Thus we ought to beware of the illusion that the settlement of the territorial heritage of the Second World War has

made an end to all conflicts of interest between the United States and the Soviet Union."

1183
Murty, T. S. THE EASTERN HIMALAYAS IN SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS. In Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. Journal, v. 3, Apr. 1971: 510-549.
UA840.I55, v. 3

Attempts to isolate and define the chief points of contention between India and Communist China in the area between Tibet and India's Northeast Frontier Agency (NEFA). At issue are rival interpretations of the Sinla Agreement of 1914 and the agreement of 1954 on Tibet. The true extent and seriousness of Chinese claims to various parts of the NEFA are not known. There is considerable uncertainty whether the Chinese lay claim to all of the four northern districts of the NEFA, or only to the Buddhist or Buddhist-influenced pockets found in the region. Other issues are in doubt as well, the problem being that so far the Chinese have refused to discuss or make public the specifics of their claims.

1184
Peabody, James B. ESCALATION OR DETENTE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Apr. 1972: 35-49. illus.
Z6723.U35, v. 52

Speculates on the outlook for a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli dispute. Peabody gives a brief historical survey of the growth of Israeli, Arab, and Palestinian nationalisms, examines the course of events in the Middle East since the 1967 war, and considers the great-power context of the dispute. Recent talk about the reopening of the Suez Canal, which if realized would redound especially to the benefit of the Soviet Union and Egypt, is a hopeful sign that peace of a sort is attainable. Opening of the canal could be the first bold step toward some kind of limited détente. However, since the Soviet Union, though it has a shared interest with the United States in avoiding a direct confrontation in the Middle East, is not interested in a genuine peace, there is little reason for optimism about the chances for a permanent and comprehensive settlement.

1185
RUSSIAN JEWS AND THE CANAL: PART OF A NEW INITIATIVE? New Middle East, no. 41, Feb. 1972: 3-4. illus.
DS63.1.N48, 1972

The number of Russian Jews permitted to leave the Soviet Union has increased steadily, and it is estimated that 75,000 emigrants will depart for Israel in 1972. Such emigration has several effects: it relieves the Soviet Union of Jewish communities considered potentially dangerous and further complicates the situation in the Middle East. "It may well be that the Soviet Government is now prepared to make the release of the Soviet Jews the price for the re-opening of the Suez Canal," even at the risk of arousing Arab condemnation. Alternatively, the move may put economic pressure on Israel, which cannot absorb the new immigrants without cutting back its defense allocations and thus might be ready to compromise on the canal.

1186
Safran, Nadav. THE SOVIETS SHOW A DIFFERENT FACE AND MUCH ELSE LOOKS DIFFERENT. New Middle East, no. 39, Dec. 1971: 19-20.
DS63.1.N48, 1971

Recent Soviet actions in the Middle East seem designed to clarify Moscow's intentions and to reduce the probability of a confrontation of the big powers. For example, the Sadat-Podgorny Pact specifically noted Egypt's commitment to a peaceful solution and the Soviet obligation to provide only weapons and training. This relaxation of threat may be due to Soviet reappraisal of the situation and realization that scare tactics may become counterproductive if maintained too long, for both sides can become polarized in unrealistic positions. Freed from the fear of Soviet intervention, the United States might exert more pressure on Israel to come to a settlement and to open the Suez Canal, an outcome greatly desired by the Soviet Union.

1187
Salpeter, Eliahu. NEARING SADAT'S DEADLINE: SHADOWS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. New leader, v. 54, Dec. 27, 1971: 7-9. illus.
HX1.N37, v. 54

Explores the conflicting viewpoints of Golda Meir and Anwar Sadat and weighs the probability of an active confrontation. Salpeter notes Israel's uncertainty about U.S. intentions as revealed in its fear that President Nixon may seek an imposed settlement when he visits Moscow and its concern over a possible U.S. pullback from Europe and the Mediterranean. In Israel public resistance to any negotiated exchange of territory is growing, although a majority still favors compromise for peace. Sadat seems uncertain of what to expect from the Soviets and what to put behind his threats.

1188
Shub, Anatole. AFTER TITO--WHO CAN KEEP TOGETHER THE SERBS, CROATS, SLOVENES, MACEDONIANS, BOSNIAN MOSLEMS, ALBANIANS, HUNGARIANS AND MONTENEGRINS? New York times magazine, Jan. 16, 1972: 14-15, 38, 44, 50. illus.
AP2.N6575, 1972

Speculates on the prospects of Yugoslavia's surviving the departure of Tito, who in May will be 80 years old. As external dangers recede, disruptive nationalist tendencies, which have survived

through the years of Communist rule, recent material progress, and concessions in the direction of a more decentralized administration, once again are coming to the fore. Tito has always managed to dominate these centrifugal elements, but where can Yugoslavia find another of equal force and prestige to succeed him? Some kind of collective leadership is a major possibility. In any case, the outcome is awaited in the West with anxiety, as Yugoslavia is a strategic prize of no small value.

1189
STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA; DECEMBER 16, 1971. Peking review, v. 14, Dec. 17, 1971.
DS701.P42, v. 14

Article is an unpaged insertion in regular issue.

In November 1971, with the aid of the Soviet Union, India launched a naked war of aggression against Pakistan. India's true colors are shown by its rejection of the U.N. General Assembly's cease-fire resolution which Pakistan accepted. India too has its minority problems and would not take kindly to others interfering in them by armed aggression. The refugee question should be settled by India and Pakistan through mutual consultation, not force. The present troubles, stemming from the postwar partition, show that the Afro-Asian peoples should be aroused to fight imperialism, not each other. The so-called "Bangladesh" state is entirely a puppet creation of India. The Indian reactionaries have clearly been abetted by the Soviet Union, which has supplied arms, opposed the wishes of the world's peoples with its Security Council vetoes, and set Asians to fight Asians. The social imperialists' purpose is to establish superpower hegemony in the subcontinent, and all neighboring nations should increase their vigilance. The Government and people of China resolutely support the people of Pakistan in their struggle against aggression, imperialism, and foreign control; "we not only are doing this politically, but will continue to give them material assistance."

1190
Wyatt, Woodrow. WHY WE SHOULD BACK INDIA. New statesman, v. 82, Dec. 10, 1971: 807-808. illus.
AP4.N64, v. 82

Peace can be restored between India and West Pakistan if New Delhi allows the people of Kashmir to determine their own fate. It is unlikely that the West Pakistanis will accept the loss of East Pakistan without a quid pro quo. India had no moral reason to occupy Kashmir in 1948, and "the justice [it] is now seeking for the mass of people of East Pakistan [it] should now concede to the Kashmiris."

1191
Zador, Heinrich. [THE BALANCE OF FORCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST] Das Gleichgewicht der Kräfte im Nahen Osten. Wehrkunde, v. 20, Dec. 1971: 633-635.
U3.W396, v. 20

The Middle East conflict is in reality an East-West conflict and any assessment of the balance of forces must include both the military and political commitments. Although the Arab States are quantitatively superior in men and machines, Israel is still a match for the Arabs because of its qualitative superiority. This will remain true as long as the conflict is confined to the Israelis and their Arab neighbors, Israel is provided with needed hardware like aircraft, and the Arabs are not suddenly reinforced to an extent not now foreseen. Political developments have cast doubt on the satisfaction of these prerequisites should the ultimate test arise. The Soviets are firmly ensconced in the Middle East and are pursuing an expansionist policy. The Americans, on the other hand, are impatient to withdraw from overseas commitments, and thus even otherwise salutory détente moves in Europe serve to intensify that impatience. Peace in the Middle East depends largely on whether the Soviets will actively or passively abet or prevent a new offensive against Israel. What is certain, however, is that Israel will not become another Czechoslovakia and that it will fight for survival, the only victory it seeks.

THE STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT

MODERN WAR

1192
Divale, William T. WARFARE IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETIES; A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY. Los Angeles, Center for the Study of Armament and Disarmament, California State College, 1971. 55 p. (California. State College, Los Angeles. Center for the Study of Armament and Disarmament. Bibliography series, no. 2) Z5118.W3D57

A selective bibliography of over 1300 items on primitive warfare arranged in topical and geographical sections and indexed by cultural group. The introduction generalizes on the major aspects of primitive war which Divale finds to be a "part of the everyday social reality of primitive society" and "conducted for purposes of blood-revenge and not for economic motives." The material presented is relevant to the question of whether war results from biological or cultural causes.

1193
Ropp, Theodore. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CONTEMPORARY STRATEGY. [Colorado Springs?] U.S. Air Force Academy, 1970. 23 p. illus. (The Harmon memorial lectures in military history, no. 12) U162.R66
Includes bibliographical references.
Supt. of Docs. no.: D305:10:12.

Contents.--Foreword.--Some special features of contemporary strategy.--The modern historical background.--The development of contemporary strategy.

Brief history of the development of contemporary military strategy. Ropp describes the roles of the massive-retaliation, flexible-response, and assured-destruction doctrines within the framework of efforts to achieve a nuclear balance of power. He notes that rapid technological change may engender diminishing returns for nuclear military strategy. Ropp contends that the incorporation of political, psychological, and economic as well as military factors into paradigms of strategy during the late 1950's and early 1960's caused Americans to see "machine answers" to many military questions with the result that some traditional maxims of strategic geography and simplicity in machine designing were forgotten. On the other hand, Chinese Communist successes, according to Ropp, led many national liberators to similar overemphasis on morale and ideology.

1194
THE SILENT WAR IN VIETNAM. Atlas, v. 21, Feb. 1972: 30-31. illus. AP1.A83, v. 21
"Translated from Helsingen Sanomat, Helsinki."

The current trend in Vietnam is toward automation of the war through the White Igloo system and the electronic battlefield. Computer analysis of battlefield messages received from parachuted sensors or magnetic signalling devices now can send an attack signal which will direct bombers automatically to the target area, or arouse self-directed missiles that find their targets using laser or TV guidance. Other electronically triggerable weapons include rapid fire guns that shoot 5,000 shots per minute, grapeshot bombs which explode at chest level, and cobweb bombs. Automation of the attack weapons allows the United States to stage a "withdrawal," minimizing its troop strength, cutting its costs, reducing its casualty rate, and generally cloaking any visible aspects of war. Thus President Nixon will not have to run for re-election under the stigma of being the first American President to lose a war.

1195
Singer, J. David. THE "CORRELATES OF WAR" PROJECT: INTERIM REPORT AND RATIONALE. World politics, v. 24, Jan. 1972: 243-270. illus. D839.W57, v. 24

"Compare[s] and test[s] a variety of plausible, but far from compatible, models and sub-models on the 'causes' of war." Among the findings recorded are that extra-systemic wars showed an increase in the 19th century and a decrease in the 20th century and that despite the example of World War II the severity and the magnitude of war have not increased dramatically.

1196
WAR AND THE HUMAN RACE, edited by Maurice N. Walsh. Amsterdam, New York, Elsevier Pub. Co., 1971. 95 p. U21.2.W37
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Editorial introduction.--Theories on the causes of war, by Bernard Brodie.--Animal aggression and its implications for human behavior, by Herbert Friedmann.--Ritual and intergroup murder: comments on war, primitive and modern, by John Kennedy.--The role of warfare in history, by

Jere C. King.--Psychic factors in the causation of recurrent mass homicide, by Maurice N. Walsh.--The loneliness of the long distance soldier, by Walter Wilcox.--Summary and conclusions.

Multidisciplinary approach to the study of war. Contributors include a political scientist, a historian, an anthropologist, a psychoanalyst, and a journalism professor who is a former combat soldier. Brodie contends that despite the numerous offhand declarations about the causes of war, rigorous and systematic studies and the real testing of one concept against another seem to be out of fashion. Friedmann, who agrees with Walsh on the existence of an aggressive instinctual drive, asserts that this drive is beneficial because it enables man to defend himself and even to avoid conflict. Kennedy "notes the fallacious arguments of the functionalists that war might be culturally productive because of its supposed role in producing nation-states or its supposed adaptive function in consolidating and centralizing internal power." King, who would like to see a world government with an international police force, argues in favor of the maintenance of the United Nations to mediate conflicts where possible. The psychology of the individual fighting soldier is examined by Wilcox.

1197
Wette, Wolfram. [WAR THEORIES OF GERMAN SOCIALISTS; MARX, ENGELS, LASSALLE, BERNSTEIN, KAUTSKY, LUXEMBURG. A CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE RESEARCH] Kriegstheorien deutscher Sozialisten; Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Bernstein, Kautsky, Luxemburg. Ein Beitrag zur Friedensforschung. Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer [c1971] 255 p. (Reihe Kohlhammer)
HX545.W45
Bibliography: p. 241-251.

Examines the opinions of six Socialist theoreticians on the causes of war and on the justification of war as a means of Socialist policy. Wette discovers that despite a lack of uniformity in their views, each makes a contribution to the methodology of peace-war research whose relevance has not been invalidated by time.

WEAPONRY AND TECHNOLOGY

1198
THE AEC BUDGET FOR FY 1973. Nuclear news, v. 15, Mar. 1972: 26-32. illus.
QC770.N75

Summary and brief comments on the Atomic Energy Commission's appropriations request for FY 1973. Tables include a Summary of Appropriations, Operating Expenses, Operating Expenses (Program by Program), Capital Equipment Not Related to Construction, and Plant and Capital Equipment. Key items in the budget are funds for the expansion and modernization of uranium enrichment capacity, public safety, waste management, environmental research, regulatory activities, the liquid metal fast-breeder reactor, and nuclear weapons. Weapons costs, including operating expenses and plant and capital equipment obligations, which total $1.017 billion, make up 39.7 percent of the Agency's budget request.

1199
ANNUAL REVIEW AND FORECAST. Undersea technology, v. 13, Jan. 1972: 21-39.
V210.A1U5, v. 13

A survey of developments over the past year in oceanography, the marine sciences, and naval affairs, together with speculation on their probable course in the immediate future. The problem of aging in the U.S. naval and merchant fleets, recent developments and trends in antisubmarine warfare, U.S. seabed and coastal zone policy, and oceanographic research are discussed in brief essays. Antisubmarine warfare continues to get top priority at a time when research and development projects are caught in a financial squeeze. The major stress at this time is on the development and deployment of barrier surveillance systems for the detection and tracking of enemy submarines.

1200
Calder, Nigel. TECHNOPOLIS: SOCIAL CONTROL OF THE USES OF SCIENCE. London, Panther, 1970. [7], 381 p. (Panther science)
HM221.C35 1970
Bibliography: p. 355-366.

Contents.--pt. 1. So technically sweet: Loss of control. Patrons and purposes. Men of the world. In the automaton. Occident express.--pt. 2. Cultural revolutions: The professors. Fiction from Rome. Mostly on tap.--pt. 3. Parliament of fears: Shared environment. New frontiers. Machines to outwit us. Biological conundrums. Pigmented poor.--pt. 4. Democracy renewed: Dissolute parties. Fixers and forecasters. Who's for a coup? Democracy of the second kind.--Author's note.--Bibliography.--Index.

Traces the political roots of current methods of making science policy and giving advice in government and outlines some current and foreseeable fears arising from the unchecked uses of science and technology. Calder argues that the primary problem of control "is to reconcile specialist expertise and long-range planning with the generalism of democracy . . . [which] must be done in such a way that the wishes of the ordinary citizen are heeded and the experts neither dictate nor bow to administrative government."

1201
Coplin, William D., and J. Martin Rochester. FOREIGN POLICY DECISION-MAKING. [Chicago] Markham Pub. Co. [1971] 32 l. illus. (Learning packages in international relations, 2)
JX1291.C63

Bibliography: leaves 11-12.
"Developed at the International Relations Program, Maxwell School, Syracuse University; William D. Coplin, Director."

Contents.--Preface.--pt. 1. Studying foreign policy decision-making: Foreign policy decision-making theory. Analysis activities. Bibliography.--pt. 2. An exercise illustrating intellectual, ideological, and organizational factors in foreign policy decision-making: participant's manual: Directions for group 1. Directions for group 2. Role profiles for group 2. Directions for group 3. Role profiles for group 3. Decision problem 1 (crisis). Decision problem 2 (general). Decision problem 3 (administrative). Group decision report form.

Presents simulation exercises to explore the processes of decisionmaking in U.S. foreign policy. Part 1 briefly outlines theories of decision-making and suggests reading material for greater acquaintance with the subject. Part 2 organizes participants into three decisionmaking groups--a "rational" group, with an unspecified number of members having unspecified roles, a five-member "political" group with assigned character roles of persons with varied ideological makeups in positions of influence, and a five-member "bureaucratic" group with assigned character roles covering varied government career backgrounds--which are to reach decisions and alternative decisions in three types of foreign-policy scenarios. These include a "crisis" scenario involving a leftist, pro-Soviet military coup in Greece, a "general" scenario calling for a reevaluation of U.S. China policy after the deaths of Mao Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek, and an "administrative" scenario dealing with a request for asylum by a key Soviet nuclear scientist attending an important U.N.-sponsored conference in Chile.

1202
Daniels, Jeff. SWEDISH STRIKE POWER FROM SAAB. Flight international, v. 101, Mar. 9, 1972: 360-362. illus. TL501.F5, v. 101

A report on the Swedish combat aircraft industry. The Viggen development program is singled out for examination to illustrate in detail Swedish design and production methods and procedures. Other aircraft examined in less detail are the Drakken and the Saab 105. The export market for Swedish aircraft is also explored. Saab "is now more export-orientated than it was, with a range of saleable products."

1203
Fleming, Edward H. METHODOLOGY FOR COMPUTING POTENTIAL RADIATION DOSE TO MAN FROM NUCLEAR EXCAVATION PROJECTS. Livermore, Univ. of California, Lawrence Radiation Lab., Jan. 11, 1971. 13 p. illus. Sci RR
Microfiche UCRL-50990

Presented here is a step-by-step procedure for computing the radiation dose to man from nuclear excavation projects. The procedure begins with the total amount of each radionuclide produced, considers airborne and deposition concentration vs distance downwind, and includes dose from inhalation, submersion, external gamma radiation, and ingested radioactivity via different food pathways. An estimate of error is provided for each calculational step. (Abstract supplied)

1204
Hewish, Mark. FRANCE'S STRATEGIC MISSILES. Flight international, v. 101, Jan. 27, 1972: 132-137. illus. TL501.F5, v. 101

A review of France's strategic missile program. The strategic implications of the French missile force, the research and development history and specifications and operational characteristics of the two main missile types, testing and manufacturing facilities, and government and industrial organization and administration are covered. Hewish thinks that though the French program has many weaknesses--the land-based component is too vulnerable, the missile submarines are too few, and the range of the sea-based missile is too short--it is still on balance a remarkable technical achievement, and France, as the only West European country to have developed its own operational strategic missile force, is now "in a position to dominate large rocket development in Europe throughout the foreseeable future."

1205
Holzer, Fred. GROUND MOTION EFFECTS FROM NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS: A REVIEW OF DAMAGE EXPERIENCE AND PREDICTION METHODS. Livermore, Univ. of California, Lawrence Radiation Lab., June 2, 1971. 24 p. illus. Sci RR
Microfiche UCRL-51062
"Prepared for U.S. Atomic Energy Commission under contract No. W-7405-Eng-48."

Ground motion from nuclear explosions can damage one- and two-story buildings when surface velocities are as low as 0.1 to 0.2 cm/sec, while high explosive blasting experience had previously suggested a threshold of between 5 and 10 cm/sec. Subsequent studies indicate that this damage correlates best with the average amplitude of the pseudo absolute acceleration (PSAA) in the 0.05 to 0.2 sec period range. Present data indicate a damage threshold of about 10 cm/sec^2, while at PSAA's of about 1000 cm/sec^2, damage to over half of the buildings can be expected. This damage is architectural in nature, consisting predominantly of cracked interior plaster, cracked brittle masonry walls, and damaged chimneys; about two-thirds of the Rulison damage was of this nature. The use of this damage prediction method requires the correct prediction of response spectra. The accuracy of such predictions has been greatly improved by employing frequency dependent yield and depth scaling. (Abstract supplied)

1206
Jones, G. R. N. CS AND ITS CHEMICAL RELATIVES. Nature (London) v. 235, Feb. 4, 1972: 257-261.
Q1.N2, v. 235

Discusses the benzylidene malononitriles (BMN's), one of which, 2-chloroBMN, better known as CS, is the active ingredient in a variety of antipersonnel and riot-control devices. The chemical structure and properties, physical characteristics, metabolism, and pharmacology of this chemical family are discussed. Data on human and animal exposure are cited, and methods of dissemination briefly described. The article includes a very full bibliography from the medical and scientific literature.

1207
Leroy, Daniel. [FRANCE, EXPORTER OF MISSILES] La France exportatrice de missiles. Science et vie, v. 120, Nov. 1971: 112-119. illus.
T2.S312, v. 120

Identifies the new developments in tactical missile technology and explains France's role both as manufacturer and exporter of some of these missiles. Leroy pays particular attention to sea-to-sea missiles like Exocet and Otomat and air-to-air missiles like the Sidewinder and 550 Magic. He notes that many countries, including the most advanced, are ordering French missiles and that this signifies that France is a leader in missile development and technology. Tables of sea-to-sea, air-to-air, and air-to-surface missiles are given.

1208
Luttwak, Edward. A DICTIONARY OF MODERN WAR. New York, Harper & Row [1971] 224 p. illus.
U24.L93 1971

Alphabetically-arranged guide to the weapons and concepts of modern war, covering "the more important weapons currently in service as well as the terms, ideas and organizations of the military dimension of modern life" and emphasizing the strategic over the tactical. Tables on weapons systems give critical specifications. There is a cross-reference index of aircraft, missiles and armored vehicle designations.

1209
Mitchell, Walter, and Stanley E. Turner. BREEDER REACTORS. [Oak Ridge, Tenn.] U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, Division of Technical Information, 1971. 47 p. illus. (Understanding the atom series)
TK9203.B7M5
"Motion pictures": p. 45.
Bibliography: p. 44.

Contents.--Hopes, dreams, and realities.--The basic processes.--Kinds of breeders.--Early achievements and milestones.--Reactors in the United States.--Programs in the United States.--Foreign developments.--A look to the future.--Reading list.--Motion pictures.

A primer on the breeder reactor. The breeder reactor "breeds" or produces more fissionable material than it consumes, thus adding to the available supply of nuclear fuels. The United States, Great Britain, France, West Germany, the Soviet Union and many other countries have active breeder development programs. It is estimated that within 30 years the breeder reactor will be producing most of the electric power in the United States.

1210
THE MODERN BATTLE TANK 1--CURRENT TYPES AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS. International defense review, v. 4, Dec. 1971: 581-590. illus.
N&CPR

A survey of main battle tanks. General remarks on the role of the main battle tank in modern warfare are followed by a discussion of each of the main national types. Photographs, line drawings, and a table of specifications and operating characteristics are included. Tanks of U.S., West German, Swiss, British, French, Japanese, Swedish and Soviet manufacture are covered. Despite remarkable advances in antitank weaponry and tactics, "no army as yet considers that there are sufficient grounds for seriously doubting the role of the tank as the main combat unit, both for attack and defense."

1211
Murphy, Brian L. VARIATION OF RAYLEIGH-WAVE AMPLITUDE WITH YIELD AND HEIGHT OF BURST FOR INTERMEDIATE-ALTITUDE NUCLEAR DETONATIONS. Journal of geophysical research, v. 77, Feb. 10, 1972: 808-817. illus.
QC811.J6, v. 77

The source strength for far-field Rayleigh-wave excitation is calculated as a function of yield and height of burst for intermediate-altitude nuclear detonations (height of burst approximately 20-100 km). In general the source strength, and hence the far-field Rayleigh-wave amplitude, has a maximum (for a given yield) at a particular burst height. The altitude at which the maximum occurs depends on the detonation yield and on the Rayleigh-wave period under consideration. The maximum is more pronounced for the longer Rayleigh-wave periods. For intermediate-altitude detonations, the variation of far-field Rayleigh-wave amplitude with yield is found to lie between the 1/2 and the 2/3 power of the yield, depending on the burst altitude and on the Rayleigh-wave period being considered. (Abstract supplied)

1212
[NEW DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES SET FOR THE U.S. ARMY FOR 1972] Neufestsetzung der Entwicklungsprioritäten der US-Army für 1972. Soldat und Technik, v. 15, Jan. 1972: 8-12. illus.
U3.S58, v. 15

Enumerates and briefly describes the areas of U.S. Army development activity for 1972. These "new initiatives," resulting from a rethinking of development priorities in the light of rising costs, include the following areas: personal equipment for the individual soldier, antiaircraft defense on the battlefield, dynamic defense devices (sensors, detectors, etc.), advanced electronic equipment for helicopters, target-seeking warheads for artillery and antitank rockets, the integrated battlefield command system, and the light observation helicopter.

1213
Pilkington, J. A. SPACECRAFT SCOREBOARD 1971: PART TWO. Flight international, v. 101, Jan. 27, 1972: 154-155. TL501.F5, v. 101

A tabulation of data on all earth satellites and space probes launched successfully between July 1 and Dec. 31, 1971. The name or designation of the space and launch vehicles; the date, time and place of launch; the inclination, height, and period of the orbit; the purpose; and miscellaneous other information are given. U.S. and Soviet reconnaissance, military communications, and electronic eavesdropping satellites, fractional orbital bombardment system tests, and orbital intercept tests are included in the table.

1214
Ramsden, J. M. EEC AND BRITISH AEROSPACE. Flight international, v. 101, Jan. 20, 1972: 89-92. illus. TL501.F5, v. 101

Compares the British aerospace market with that of the European Economic Community. Special attention is given to the two military markets. Tables compare the United Kingdom with Common Market members and selected other European countries in the categories of civil air traffic (in ton kilometers), large and small civil aircraft, military aircraft, military aerospace and aircraft markets (in dollars), and research and development, 1968-1980 (in dollars). Overall, the British market amounts to about one-half that of the Common Market six combined.

1215
Rechtin, Eberhardt. SLACKENING R&D IS NO WAY TO MAINTAIN NATIONAL POWER. Astronautics & aeronautics, v. 9, Dec. 1971: 22-27. illus. TL501.A688A25, v. 9

While U.S. efforts in science and technology slacken, the rest of the world is surging ahead. The United States no longer retains clear superiority in military technology, but still has an average lead of two years over the Soviet Union. However, the Soviets have increased their investment in military research and development, which could now be 50 percent greater than that of the United States. This will result in better and more modern Soviet military technologies. "If present investment trends continue, we will have smaller but better equipped forces than we do now, but they won't necessarily be qualitatively better than those of the USSR." For the 1970's, the results of technologies coming from sufficient investment will probably include improved night operations, better control of battlefield airspace and firepower, increased small-unit effectiveness in battle, and more accurate intelligence on enemy movements. The U.S. position in international commerce is under acute challenge and affects the nation's ability to finance defense needs. The Government is responding, but even with increased research and development expenditures, the Defense Department is going to have to aim for less complex and costly and more efficient weapons systems.

1216
Rizer, G. C. A METHOD OF PREDICTING SEISMIC DAMAGE TO RESIDENTIAL-TYPE STRUCTURES FROM UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS. Livermore, Univ. of California, Lawrence Radiation Lab., Oct. 20, 1970. 14 p. illus. Sci RR
Microfiche UCRL-50959

A method of predicting seismic damage from underground nuclear explosions is discussed. The method is a fast and inexpensive way to estimate damage costs and (although less detailed than more formal methods) it provides a dollar estimate of damages accurate enough for planning purposes. The two most important factors affecting the amount of damages are magnitude of ground motion and number of structures near the shot. Ground motion response depends primarily on event yield, distance from source to structures, source geology media, and depth of burial (DOB). With these factors known, a method can be developed for determining the pseudo absolute acceleration (PSAA). The number of structures can generally be estimated from the census data for surrounding towns and cities. Complaints and claims for one- and two-story structures can then be estimated from a graph correlating the PSAA and the percentage of structures expected to be damaged. (Abstract supplied)

1217
Schwartz, L., W. Robison, and L. Anspaugh. OPPORTUNITIES TO MONITOR POTENTIAL DOSE TO MAN FROM NUCLEAR EXCAVATION. Livermore, Univ. of California, Lawrence Radiation Lab., June 15, 1971. 20 p. illus. Sci RR
Microfiche UCRL-51068
"Prepared for U.S. Atomic Energy Commission under contract No. W-7405-Eng-48."

This report is a general discussion of the opportunities for making measurements relating to potential dose from nuclear excavation projects. Internal pathways of exposure are emphasized. Typical sampling and measurement systems are discussed. Several hypothetical examples relating

potential dose, concentrations along the pathway, and typical measurement capability are presented. (Abstract supplied)

1218
Scrivener, Desmond. DEFENSE AGAINST ANTI-SHIP MISSILES. International defense review, v. 4, Dec. 1971: 539-543. illus.
N&CPR

Discusses the urgent problem of finding an adequate defense against antiship missiles of the "low-flying or surface-skimming" type "launched at or about horizon range." Guns and missiles offer a good defense against surface-skimmers, but to reduce the danger of saturation, electronic jamming techniques and decoys must be used to dilute the attacking force. Modern surface ships already have some capability for defense against missiles, but improvements would be highly desirable. Additional material needs include more support aircraft, long-range detection systems, decoys, new antimissile missiles and guns, and digital control systems to coordinate all aspects of the defense. New types of armor protection should also be considered.

1219
Smith, Charles F. PROJECT GASBUGGY: GAS QUALITY ANALYSIS AND EVALUATION PROGRAM TABULATION OF RADIOCHEMICAL AND CHEMICAL ANALYTICAL RESULTS. Livermore, Univ. of California, Lawrence Radiation Lab., Apr. 19, 1971. 27 p. illus.
Sci RR
Microfiche UCRL-50635
"Prepared for U.S. Atomic Energy Commission under contract No. W-7405-Eng-48."
Includes bibliographical references.

In the past, analytical results for samples of Project Gasbuggy chimney gas have been distributed to project participants and the interested public in various ways. This tabulation is an attempt to summarize all of the previous results with a consistent up-to-date listing of samples, radionuclide concentrations, and chemical analysis results and, at the same time, provide a vehicle for distributing these results. The listing includes the description and the disposition of all samples obtained for analysis at the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory following the Gasbuggy detonation. The distribution of these results to project participants and interested public has been accomplished by various means in the past; however, none of these ways have been completely satisfactory. This tabulation, then, has two primary purposes. First, it assembles the analytical results in a single document with enough additional information to permit interpretation of their significance. And second, it provides a means for general distribution of the results in advance of the final program reports. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1220
Taylor, John W. JANE'S AEROSPACE REVIEW 71/72. Air Force magazine, v. 55, Jan. 1972: 24-33. illus.
UG633.A65, v. 55

Reviews a broad array of aerospace developments, ranging from space satellites to small aircraft manufacture. Particular attention is given to the plight of Great Britain's aerospace industry, the aircraft industries of nations like Czechoslovakia and Switzerland, and Soviet aircraft, including the MiG-23 and the twin-jet Tu-22 supersonic bomber. Taylor concludes that progress in air and space is often determined by what one can afford. He notes that this is an advantage in maintaining the balance of power between the superpowers because if the Soviet Union could afford to deploy an effective antimissile system, America's deterrent would lose its credibility.

1221
Ulsamer, Edgar. SRAM; THE LAST WORD IN DEFENSE SUPPRESSION. Air Force magazine, v. 55, Feb. 1972: 28-34. illus.
UG633.A65, v. 55

Reports on the U.S. Air Force's "newest strategic weapon system," the air-to-surface Short Range Attack Missile (SRAM), scheduled to begin deployment in late 1972. With a nuclear warhead equal in power to a Minuteman III missile, SRAM can be used for destroying either the enemy's defenses or prime targets. Ulsamer describes the missile's physical, engineering and performance characteristics. He also discusses the organization and operation of the SRAM development program, noting that "because the system's reliability and costs are considered to be of overriding importance, all major improvement efforts . . . are directed at these objectives rather than increasing SRAM's performance." Ulsamer mentions other possible applications of the missile, such as bomber defense, tactical nuclear offense, and antisubmarine warfare.

1222
U.S. Congress. Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. AEC AUTHORIZING LEGISLATION, FISCAL YEAR 1972; PART 4. Hearings, Ninety-second Congress, first session, on nuclear materials; peaceful uses of atomic energy (Plowshare); weapons; biology and medicine; training, education, and information; isotopes development; community; regulation; program direction and administration; security investigations; and amendments to the AEC authorization bill. Mar. 18, 23, and May 13, 1971. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971: 2237-3311. illus.
KF25.A8 1971b, pt. 4
Supt. of Docs. no.: Y4.At7/2:L52/972.

Testimony by 14 agency witnesses and seven other Government officials and industry representatives on various current and proposed activities and functions of the Atomic Energy Commission. The

appendixes reproduce related documentary materials, including correspondence, articles, studies, and statements concerning weapons development and procurement, international cooperation and scientific exchange, the Cannikin underground nuclear test on Amchitka, effects of underground nuclear testing, radioactive waste disposal, and the Plowshare program for peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

1223
Werth, Glenn C. STATUS OF CONTAINED NUCLEAR EXPLOSIVE APPLICATIONS. Livermore, Univ. of California, Lawrence Radiation Lab., June 21, 1971. 30 p. illus. Sci RR
Microfiche UCRL-51074

"Prepared for U.S. Atomic Energy Commission under contract No. W-7405-Eng-48."

Reviews the status of contained nuclear explosive applications. Particular emphasis is placed on new developments since the last general status report was issued in December 1970. Since the main thrust of the U.S. Plowshare Program is gas stimulation, that area is emphasized. Five other areas are discussed briefly: gas storage, oil shale, geothermal stimulation, chemical mining, and radioactive waste disposal. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1224
Wheeler, V. E., and R. G. Preston. RESPONSE OF THE PIPE AND GROUND IN THE PACKARD NUCLEAR EFFECTS TEST. Livermore, Univ. of California, Lawrence Livermore Lab., Aug. 13, 1971. 136 p. illus. Sci RR
Microfiche UCRL-51112

"Prepared for U.S. Atomic Energy Commission under contract No. W-7405-Eng-48."

The experiment in Packard to measure the response of the LOS pipe and the ground to the stress wave generated by the explosion of the nuclear device resulted in three principal findings. The bolts securing the mated flanges in the line-of-sight (LOS) pipe immediately above the upper HE machine were severed, not by the stress wave generated by the nuclear explosion, but by the stress wave generated by the explosion of the HE. This allowed gas to diffuse from below into the section of pipe above the machine. If the ball valves above and the fastgate at the surface had not closed, this failure of the flange bolts would have resulted in a serious leakage of radioactive material. The discovery that the flange bolts on the LOS pipe had been severed by the HE machine, a defect to be avoided in design of LOS pipes, came as a surprise. The signals measured with velocity gages on the LOS pipe below the lower slip joint indicated that the pipe below had telescoped in two distinct steps, first prior to 35 msec and then prior to 65 msec. Reexamination of a record from a velocity gage on the Hupmobile LOS pipe below the lower slip joint indicated that similar step-wise telescoping of the pipe had occurred with that nuclear test. Records from velocity gages on other types of pipes, e.g., Pinex pipes, can be examined for possible indications of similar telescoping of pipes below the gages. A measurement in the ground 196 ft above the center of the nuclear explosion yielded a peak velocity considerably higher than had previously been measured with an explosion in alluvium. Because the validity of this measurement was not clearly established, attempts should be made to verify it in forthcoming tests. (Abstract supplied)

1225
Wiener, Friedrich. [THE ARMIES OF THE WARSAW PACT STATES. ORGANIZATION, TACTICS, WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT] Die Armeen der Warschauer-Pakt-Staaten. Organisation, Taktik, Waffen und Gerät. 5th ed., [Wien] Überreuter, 1971. 238 p. illus. (Truppendienst-Taschenbücher, Bd. 2)
UA646.8.W5 1971

Bibliography: p. 235-238.

Contents.--The Warsaw Pact: The party organization. The member states. COMECON. Evaluation and overall strength.--The organization of the armed forces: Branches and services. The ground forces. The sea forces. The tactical air forces. Airborne troops. The strategic air force. The strategic rocket troops. Homeland air defense. Other armed forces.--Military view--command and combat principles. Infantry weapons. Artillery weapons. Anti-aircraft weapons. Armored vehicles. Motor vehicles. Engineer equipment. Aircraft.--Uniform and rank insignia.--Subject index. --Bibliography.

Intended for officers and military scientists as a descriptive and pictorial orientation manual on the ground forces and, to a lesser degree, on the air and sea forces of the Warsaw Pact states.

1226
Wragg, David W. WORLD'S AIR FORCES. Reading, Osprey, 1971. 232 p. illus.
UG630.W7

Brief histories of the military aviation of each of the major defense alliances and nations possessing a military air force touching on the army, navy and marine air arms and giving an account of present and planned strength in numbers of personnel, aircraft and squadrons.

1227
Wu, Yuan-li, and Robert B. Sheeks. THE ORGANIZATION AND SUPPORT OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN MAINLAND CHINA. Assisted by Lawrence J. Lau [and] Grace Wu. Under the direction and editorial supervision of Ralph J. Watkins. New York, Published for the National Science Foundation [by] Praeger Publishers [c1970] xxii, 592 p. illus. (Praeger special studies in international economics and development)
Q180.C6W82 1970

"Sponsored by the Office of Economic and Manpower Studies, National Science Foundation, under Contract NSF-C399 with Surveys & Research Corporation."
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface, by Ralph J. Watkins.--List of tables.--List of figures.--List of short-form references.--Purpose and scope of analysis.--History of China's science and technology to 1949.--Formulation of goals and policy.--Trends in the structure of R&D.--Financing R&D activities.--Users of funds for science.--R&D institutions in operation.--Economic growth and the R&D effort.--Summary of findings.--Appendixes: Scientific facilities before 1949. Listing of selected scientific institutions and societies founded before 1950. Estimation of the budgeted expenditures of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Coordination of R&D activities with economic goals.

Examines the growth, organization, and objectives of the Chinese research and development effort in the life sciences, physical sciences, mathematics, and engineering. After giving the historical background, Wu and Sheeks survey policy and planning, organizational setup, manpower training and distribution, resource and funding allocation, and applications. In discussing China's nuclear program, the authors cite estimates of expenditures and costs, summarize the Chinese attitude toward nuclear weapons, review the phases of the program's evolution, and compare the rate of Chinese progress with that of the other four nuclear powers. The final chapter recapitulates the findings and conclusions of the earlier sections.

DEFENSE POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

1228
AEC BUDGET FOR FY 1973. Washington atomic energy report and the atomic energy guideletter, v. 18, Feb. 1, 1972. 4 p.
HD9698.U5W3, v. 18

Summarizes the 1973 budget of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) which calls for increased expenditures that will amount to $173 million more than the current budget and $193 million more than the 1971 budget. Weapons costs in 1973 are estimated as $877.7 million; the actual cost for 1971 was $827.9 million. The budget provides for "production of nuclear weapons; maintenance of stockpiled weapons in state of constant readiness; design, development, and underground testing of new weapon types; participation in DOD test readiness program, test detection methods." Other AEC programs include reactor development, physical research, biology and medicine, and training, education, and information.

1229
Adams, Benson D. BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE. New York, American Elsevier Pub. Co., 1971. 274 p. illus. (Policy sciences book series)
UG633.A6118
Bibliography: p. 250-269.

Contents.--Introduction.--pt. 1. Nike-Zeus: The origin of missile defense efforts in America to 1955. Nike-Zeus--1956 to 1958. Nike-Zeus--1959 to the Kennedy administration. The death of Zeus--1961 to 1963.--pt. 2. Nike-X: Zeus plus Sprint equals X--1963. Missile defense and the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Nike-X and damage limitation--1964. Opposition to missile defense begins--1964. Missile defense--the modular approach--1965. The year of surprises--1966.--pt. 3. Sentinel: Sentinel--the Chinese system decision. The Sentinel decision--the end of the no-deployment policy.--pt. 4: Safeguard: From Sentinel to Safeguard. Safeguard.--pt. 5. Analysis and conclusions: U.S. missile defense policy in retrospect.--Bibliography.--Index.

Traces the evolution of U.S. antimissile defense from the 1944 German use of the V-2 to U.S. rejection of the December 1970 Soviet proposal at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) to limit antimissile defenses to protection of the two superpower national capitals. Once the feasibility of antimissile defense was established, Adams believes, the central policy issue became the wisdom of deployment. He determines two periods in U.S. missile defense policy: the nondeployment period began in 1957 with the Nike-Zeus system and the present period began ten years later with Defense Secretary McNamara's decision to deploy a thin system against Chinese ICBM's. In assessing recent developments, Adams feels that "upon analysis the real emphasis for continuing the SAFEGUARD deployment and expanding it was to strengthen the U.S. position at SALT and contribute to SALT's success," while the controversy surrounding the system's deployment "was less a debate about the merits of a weapon system than it was an internal governmental policy debate on what was to be the future direction and objectives of American nuclear strategy."

1230
Auer, James E. JAPAN'S MARITIME SELF-DEFENSE FORCE: AN APPROPRIATE MARITIME STRATEGY? Naval War College review, v. 24, Dec. 1971: 3-20. illus.
N&CPR

Civilians in the Japanese Defense Agency and leaders of the Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF) differ fundamentally over the role of the country's navy. The civilians, headed by Kaihara Osamu, argue that a large, ocean-going fleet is unrealistic and unconstitutional and that the force should be structured for defense of the home islands against invasion only. The MSDF leaders, with Sekino Hideo as spokesman, maintain that Japan needs a navy capable of deterring China and controlling a southern "Maritime Safety Zone" in

wartime to permit importation of essential materials. Kaihara's views have not been implemented in military-wary Japan because of the Government's refusal to resolve this dispute, meaning that Japan in actuality has a defense nonpolicy. "The result of defense policy to date has been an aimless force of limited capability, and there is no better example of that lack of direction than the present-day Marine Self-Defense Force." The United States is pledged to defend Japan if attacked, but Japan has had to make no similar guarantee, unlike other mutual defense arrangements. The Government often overestimates the degree of American protection. The Seventh Fleet may not be able to defend Japan fully in the future. Short of nuclear capability, Japan will have to supply the primary strength for its own defense, but at present the MSDF is ill-prepared to defend anything, as both Kaihara and Sekino agree.

1231

Baumann, Gerhard. [THE RIGHT TO DEFENSE AND THE REFUSAL TO PERFORM MILITARY SERVICE] Verteidigungsrecht und Kriegsdienstverweigerung. Pfaffenhofen, Ilmgau Verlag W. Ludwig [1971] 181 p.
LL
Bibliography: p. 173-177.

Contents.--Preface.--Foreword.--Such is the situation.--The matter of conscience.--From the viewpoint of the state.--Force lurks in the background.--Changed direction of thrust: battle against established order.--Auxiliary volunteers of the revolution.--Bundeswehr: "mechanism for oppression."--And what do the state and society have to say?--And what is to be done?--Military service refusal in the NATO area.--Bibliography.--Index.

Weighs the Bundeswehr's constitutional mission to defend the Republic against the individual's right of conscience to refuse to perform military service. Baumann finds that military-service objectors have radically changed since 1968 when they were motivated by individual consciences. Now they have become a collective instrument bent on overturning the existing parliamentary, political and legal order. He urges speedy government action to define the extent and legitimacy of the right of the citizen to refuse military service.

1232

Bradford, Zeb B. AMERICAN GROUND POWER AFTER VIETNAM. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Apr. 1972: 4-13. illus.
Z6723.U35, v. 52

Offers recommendations concerning the composition and utilization of U.S. ground forces in light of the military lessons learned in the Vietnam war and changes in public attitudes toward the military and overseas commitments. There is a growing desire on the part of the public to restrict the deployment of ground troops abroad and to rely on all-volunteer armed forces. There is also a new realization that the much-touted "flexibility" of ground troops, as compared with strategic nuclear forces, tends to evaporate rather quickly on committal to a theatre of action. These observations suggest the need for a new set of guidelines for the development and deployment of U.S. ground forces. These necessarily would include a reduced commitment to sustained conventional warfare, greater reliance on active force capabilities, and the giving of "greater consideration . . . to potential nuclear weapons employment in the design and employment of active ground forces, especially in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization context."

1233

Brenner, Michael J. DECOUPLING, DISENGAGEMENT AND EUROPEAN DEFENSE. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 28, Feb. 1972: 38-42. illus.
TK9145.A84, v. 28

U.S. military assessments of strategic parity and NATO's conventional force capabilities favor an accentuated role for tactical nuclear weapons in alliance strategy. Contingency planning presuming the use of tactical weapons risks increasing the chances of their use "and further blurs the natural distinction between nuclear weapons and the attendant danger of uncontrolled escalation of strategic weapons." Further, the wide dispersal of these weapons would complicate the already-serious problems of command and control by placing greater discretionary powers in the hands of local commanders and consequently by increasing the opportunities for faulty judgment. These military assessments have also given plausibility to proposals for a European nuclear force whose creation is potentially destabilizing. The United States can maintain its flexible response strategy without giving priority to tactical nuclear weapons if the concepts used in the military assessments of the European situation are proven incorrect. First, NATO forces at their present level can perform a firebreak function. Second, under conditions of strategic parity "one can deter no better with an array of tactical weapons than with strategic weapons." Parity does not undermine America's commitment to European security, but anxious discussion of it can produce the very uncertainty alliance members seek to avoid. Although the Soviet Union is aware of America's readiness to resist an attack in Europe, Washington planners must restrain themselves from overstating difficulties and intensifying their discussion to avoid the dangers of Soviet misinterpretation.

1234

Brodine, Virginia, and Mark Selden. THE ARMAGEDDON BLUFF: DR. KISSINGER'S STRATEGY FOR WINNING MR.

NIXON'S WAR. Nation, v. 214, Jan. 31, 1972: 138-146. illus. AP2.N2, v. 214

"This article . . . will be incorporated in a book--Open Secret: The Kissinger-Nixon Doctrine in Asia--to be published by Harper & Row as an original paperback in April."

Henry Kissinger has long asserted that limited war is a proper response to Communist aggression or blackmail and is appropriate in defense of American national interests. Under Kissinger's limited war strategy military operations would be conducted in phases allowing assessment and possible settlement before moving to the next stage. The Kissinger-Nixon doctrine, stated in the 1971 "State of the World" message, is based on a limited war strategy and asserts that the United States will use any level of force appropriate to respond to threats to its interests. That strategy, defined by "graduated amounts of destruction" separated by "breathing spaces for diplomacy" is applicable to the limited war the United States is conducting in Vietnam. Its operation can be seen in a review of the history of the fighting and negotiation that have taken place since 1969. Today the Kissinger-Nixon doctrine still calls for diplomatic moves and for talks with China, but "in the Kissinger lexicon, diplomacy never appears unless force is close behind."

1235
Caldwell, Malcolm, comp. AMERICAN PRESENCE IN SOUTH EAST ASIA. [Singapore, Island Publishers, 1971] 51 p. DS557.A63C33
Bibliography: p. 13-14.

Contents.--American presence in South East Asia, by Malcolm Caldwell.--The air attacks on the Democratic Republic of Vietnam by the USA on 21 November, 1970, by Peter Weiss.--In defence of the student movement, by Noam Chomsky.

Analyses of various aspects of the American involvement in Indochina. Caldwell asserts that the U.S. interest is primarily economic, reflecting its need for raw materials and resources, primarily oil. He believes that the rich countries of the West cannot "sustain present living standards unless the poor countries are made to give up their real wealth." Noam Chomsky similarly contends that the development of ABMs is motivated "not so much by the search for security as by the need to provide a subsidy for the electronics industry."

1236
Caron, Gerald C. SOVIET CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS: CONFLICT AND COLLABORATION AMONG COMRADES. Naval War College review, v. 24, Dec. 1971: 65-93. illus. N&CPR

The theory that continuing conflict exists between the Soviet military and Communist Party serious enough to endanger the stability and continuity of the regime has enjoyed popularity for some time. But the military and the party leaders have always agreed that the centralized political control structure is beneficial. All but one of the five major military purges recognized in Soviet history were in effect reductions in force which benefited the armed forces and created generations of leaders who felt they owed their advancement to the party. Contrary to the notion that the party has denied the military professional status, the regime has created a devoted and totally professional military by considerable investment in training and equipment. The possibility of a Bonaparte has long concerned the party. Marshal Zhukov, once seen as a candidate for this role, actually had no support from the military leaders who, always backing the winner in a succession struggle, have a vested interest in the continued existence of the system that accords them high position and prestige for their forces. They will never stage a coup. In policy formulation, the military has an important but never final voice, makes its views known freely, and enjoys total sovereignty within its own areas. There are no permanent and serious differences between the military and the party, and the civilian-military setup in reality contributes to the stability of the regime.

1237
CIVIL DEFENSE--MOSCOW--1969: RECEPTION AND RELOCATION OF DISPERSED OPERATIONAL AND SUPERVISORY PERSONNEL AND EVACUATED PEOPLE. In Canada. Emergency Measures Organization. EMO national digest, v. 11, Oct./Nov. 1971: 8-18. illus. UA926.C295, v. 11

"The June-July edition of the Digest, v. 11, no. 3, published a comprehensive extract from a Soviet book, Civil Defense--Moscow 1969 prepared by the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Tennessee. The following extract, Chapter 5 of the translation of the official Russian textbook is published with kind permission of the Laboratory."

Discusses dispersal and evacuation operations during a nuclear attack. The two terms are described as representing different concepts: dispersal covers the operational and supervisory personnel (and their families) of the industries that would continue to operate in urban areas during an attack, while evacuation refers to those personnel who would be transferred to locations outside the attack area. The role and structure of evacuation agencies, the organization of the reception and relocation of workers and the rest of the population, and the political activity of the Communist Party during dispersal and evacuation are described.

1238
[CONTROL CENTER FOR AGGRESSION; ON THE ROLE OF THE BUNDESWEHR LEADERSHIP IN THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX OF THE FRG] Schaltzentrum der Aggression; zur Rolle der Bundeswehrführung im Militär-Industrie-Komplex der BRD, [by] Autorenkollektiv des Deutschen Instituts für Militärgeschichte und der

Militärakademie Friedrich Engels. [Berlin] Deutscher Militärverlag [1971] 380 p. illus. (Schriften des Deutschen Instituts für Militärgeschichte) UA710.S2
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface.--On the nature of the military-industrial complex.--The development of the military command organization and the growth of the influence of Bundeswehr generals.--The officer corps of the Bundeswehr--development, education, training and profile.--The influence of the military leadership on the armament policy and economy of imperialism in the FRG.--Additional militaristic formations of the state-monopolistic system of domination in the FRG.

Details the influence of the Bundeswehr leadership on all areas of West German life and its role in the American-West German military-industrial conflict. The authors claim that West German militarists and rightist groups are the chief partners of the United States in opposing Socialist peace programs and proposals like the European security conference and that they have selected Europe as the main arena for their war in the 1970's.

1239
Dar, E. H. AUSTRALIA'S DEFENSE POLICIES AND THE ASIAN POINT OF VIEW. In United States Naval Institute, Annapolis. Proceedings, v. 97, Dec. 1971: 56-59. illus.
V1.U8, v. 97

Australian orientation has always been predominantly Western, with little association with Asia or the oriental personality. In terms of its long-range planning, however, Australia would be well-advised to increase its ability to predict what various Asian nations will do and to find new allies. Australian defense policy, although its specific form is not yet clear, is moving toward a greater degree of independence. Its progress is hindered by Government ministries that are slow to change and reluctant to allow information exchange and public debate. "Whether an Asian point of view would enrich this debate is yet to be seen."

1240
Figgess, Sir John. THE OUTLOOK FOR JAPAN. World today, v. 27, Nov. 1971: 479-486.
D410.W63, v. 27

As long as the majority of Japanese believe that national safety will be insured against nuclear attack by the U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty, the adoption of an offensive military posture by the Self Defense Force is unlikely. The Tokyo Government, which is being pressured to improve the quality of Japanese life in previously neglected areas like housing and social welfare, realizes that any new military initiative would antagonize Japan's trading partners. These partners in retaliation could jeopardize Japan's entire world trade by denying access to vital raw materials.

1241
Foley, Charles. TOWARD COMPUTERIZED WARFARE. Current, no. 132, Sept. 1971: 20-23.
AP2.C9259, 1971
From The Observer (London), June 20, 1971.
N&CPR

The United States is embarked on a five-year program to perfect a global surveillance system that could revolutionize ground combat. Deployed abroad, the system would permit the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Europe and elsewhere, and might make termination of the draft feasible. Known as the Electronic or Automated Battlefield, it will employ "an awesome array of sensing devices, laser beams, night-seeing automata and computers to create an electro-magnetic environment in which . . . 'Nothing hostile can survive.'" An experimental model is now in operation at the Army's Combat Development Command in California, but a primitive version has already been tested in combat, with good results. Critics argue that possession of the new capability could lead to new involvements abroad, or embroil the United States in a new kind of arms race with the Soviet Union. There are indications that the Congress has once again been trapped into financing a massive military program without being informed of its true cost or implications. But considerations of this kind lie outside the ken of military decisionmakers. Military men want to save American lives without sacrificing U.S. defense capabilities, and, in their opinion, the new system will do just that.

1242
Forschungsdienst China-Archiv. [NUCLEAR POWER CHINA: MILITARY-GEOPOLITICAL ASPECTS] Kernwaffenmacht China: militärisch-geopolitische Aspekte. China-Analysen, v. 10, Oct. 1971: 10-11.
DS701.C356, v. 10

Examines the Chinese Communist nuclear arsenal, means of delivery, probable targets, and the consequences of a nuclear-armed China. Although China ranks only third in nuclear-power status, Chinese population distribution does not present attractive targets like the industrialized concentrations in the United States and the Soviet Union. China will possess an operational inventory of medium-range missiles by 1972, intercontinental missiles before 1975, and a second-strike capability in 15 to 20 years. Among the questions that Chinese nuclear capability raises are the willingness of Japan and the Philippines to tolerate American bases when their countries can be held as nuclear hostages, the capability of the United States to launch a second strike against both China and the Soviet Union, and whether nuclear weapons stocks in Korea should be replenished or abandoned.

1243
Franck, Thomas M., and Edward Weisband. WORD POLITICS; VERBAL STRATEGY AMONG THE SUPERPOWERS. New York, Oxford University Press, 1971. 176 p. (Studies in peaceful change)
E744.F8
Includes bibliographical references.

Argues that the United States' verbal conception of its rights and privileges in the Western hemisphere does not differ from that held by the Soviet Union about its relations to the Warsaw Pact nations, and proposes a new system of strategic cost-accounting comparing U.S. strategic planning in Guatemala, Cuba and the Dominican Republic with the Soviet strategy in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The authors claim that the Soviet Union has "had the help of the words, concepts, and principles of prior U.S. foreign policy pronouncements" to justify its own more brutal actions and that an amoral American foreign policy is likely "to be unsuccessful by the standards of 'hard' strategy and national-interest cost/benefit accounting." The interchangeability of verbal behavior between the Soviet Union and the United States in the Dominican and Czech crises is referred to as "the echo phenomenon."

1244
Frisbee, John L. RESPONSIBILITIES: UP; DEFENSE BUDGETS: DOWN. Air Force magazine, v. 55, Feb. 1972: 35-41. illus.
UG633.A65, v. 55

The U.S. Air Forces in Europe (USAFE) bear a large responsibility for ensuring deterrence of Soviet nuclear forces by their tactical nuclear capability and for maintaining air superiority against a Soviet conventional attack, both key requirements for preserving NATO's credibility. USAFE modernization was completed at the end of 1971, but improvements are still possible. However, despite reductions in the past few years, "USAFE's combat capability is better today than at any time in the past." Morale and discipline of USAFE's personnel are better than among their Army counterparts, and programs dealing with the problems that do exist are in operation.

1245
Gallois, Pierre. 1967-1972. Politique étrangère, v. 37, no. 1, 1972: 29-64.
JX3.P6, v. 37

Public opinion has not assimilated the consequences of the rapid progress of technology, notably in the field of armament, and the governments which depend on public opinion are led to present their policy on the basis of historical precedents that have been rendered obsolete. In this context, the decline of American power, Soviet expansionism, and the progress of China present Europe in the field of defense with problems that cannot be solved according to classic dogmas. A joint Anglo-French nuclear force does not make sense. On the other hand, cooperation is possible and desirable for the production of modern weapons. (Translation of supplied abstract)

1246
Gelber, Harry G. NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN CHINESE STRATEGY. Problems of communism, v. 20, Nov./Dec. 1971: 33-44. HX1.P75, v. 20

China considered nuclear weapons to be "paper tigers" and relied on the Soviet nuclear shield from 1950 until the Quemoy and Matsu crisis of 1958 which revealed that the Soviet Union would not use its nuclear weapons to protect China. Since the ideological split and the abrogation of the Soviet defense technology pact, China has placed great emphasis on its nuclear weapons development program. Nearly a dozen devices have been tested. Work proceeds on development of a mix of hard and mobile land-based, medium, intermediate- and long-range missile systems and possibly tactical nuclear weapons, and missile-equipped submarines. Chinese nuclear strategy is not subject to public discussion in China and so is difficult for the West to discern. While the Chinese probably will not use their nuclear weapons as a springboard for high-risk strategic policies, their very existence constrains China's enemies. China supports general disarmament and scoffs at Soviet-U.S. partial arms control agreements. With a minimal nuclear force Chinese strategy could be directed to "posing a general and unspecific threat to the Soviet Far East or US bases or allies in the Western Pacific, and later to a few cities of European Russia or the continental United States."

1247
Geneste, Marc E. FROM LEADERSHIP TO PARTNERSHIP. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Mar. 1972: 73-81. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 52

The United States and its European allies must adopt a new strategic doctrine to restore the credibility of the U.S. nuclear umbrella and to pressure the Soviet Union into a comprehensive arms control agreement. The new doctrine would "be based on the hard fact of national entities [possessing retaliatory nuclear power] rather than built on sands of [European] political integration." The key to this doctrine is the success or failure of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. Even if the superpowers agree to neutralize their intercontinental ballistic missile arsenals Europe would "remain alone under the threat of the Soviet midrange ballistic missiles (MRBM's) and mobilization potential." As a result, the incentives toward the employment of a national strategic deterrent system would increase. However, since a nuclear first strike by either side is not rational and since the object of war implies invasion by land forces, the West must seek deterrence at the

tactical as well as the strategic level. "The massive use of tactical nuclear weapons [by a European country] would vaporize all maneuver elements [by the Soviet Union] on the ground and render offense as outdated today as a cavalry charge against machine guns."

1248
Gerhardt, James M. THE DRAFT AND PUBLIC POLICY; ISSUES IN MILITARY MANPOWER PROCUREMENT, 1945-1970. Columbus, Ohio State University Press [1971] xxi, 425 p. illus. UB343.G47

"A publication of the Mershon Center for Education in National Security."

Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction.--Frustration of postwar policy.--Return of Selective Service.--Korean rearmament and Cold War policy.--The quiet triumph of Selective Service.--New challenges to Selective Service.--Military manpower policy, past and future.--Notes.--Index.

Examines the development of U.S. military manpower procurement policy since World War II, concentrating on the issues debated by policymakers in the presidency, the Defense Department, the Selective Service System, other Government agencies, Congress and the concerned congressional committees, and by the interest group representatives. Gerhardt concludes that "although support of national security has been the predominant goal, policy has evolved only partly in response to changing perceptions of what constitutes an effective military establishment; policy and programs have also been shaped by shifting attitudes toward four other issues: costs, compulsions, equity, and impact on nonmilitary social goals."

1249
Germany (Federal Republic, 1949-). Bundesministerium der Verteidigung. WHITE PAPER 1970 ON THE SECURITY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND ON THE STATE OF THE GERMAN FEDERAL ARMED FORCES. [Bonn] Published by the Federal Minister of Defence on behalf of the German Federal Government. [Cologne, Druckhaus Deutz, 1970] 212 p. illus. UA710.A552

Contents.--Introductions by Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt.--Preface.--The security of the Federal Republic of Germany: Security in the seventies. The Western Alliance. The Federal Armed Forces within the Alliance.--The state of the Federal Armed Forces: Structure and reform of the armed forces. The Federal Armed Forces and society. Equipment. Control and management. The defence budget.--Annex.--Index.

White Paper dealing with the present state of the Bundeswehr, the security policy of the German Federal Republic, and its place within the context of foreign affairs. The goals to be pursued in these fields in the near future by the Bonn Government are set forth.

1250
Gouré, Leon. SOVIET CIVIL DEFENSE, 1969-1970. Coral Gables, Fla., Center for Advanced International Studies, University of Miami, 1971. 42 p. (Monographs in international affairs) UA929.R9G64

"Reprint of a final report prepared for the Office of Civil Defense, Office of the Secretary of the Army . . . under OCD contract no. DAHC 20-70-C-0309."

Complements and updates the author's Civil Defense in the Soviet Union, 1962. UA929.R9G63

Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface.--Summary.--Introduction.--Soviet views of the threat.--The role of civil defense.--The mission and status of Soviet civil defense.--Organization, command and control.--Evacuation.--Shelters.--Industrial hardening.--Training.--Concluding remarks.--Notes.

Survey of the Soviet Union's civil defense program based on an examination of open sources focusing on the role of civil defense within the context of the nuclear threat. The Soviet civil defense program emphasizes the protection of the population and the economy as well as pre-attack evacuation, shelters, industrial hardening, civil defense formations, post-attack rescue programs, and the training of the entire population. Among the outstanding features of the current Soviet civil defense program are the expansion of civil defense training and education and an annual investment in the program exceeding any in the West.

1251
Gröndal, Benedikt. ICELAND. FROM NEUTRALITY TO NATO MEMBERSHIP. Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1971. 3-105 p. illus. (Scandia books no. 11) DL375.G76

Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction.--Eleven hundred years.--Eternal neutrality.--Vanishing isolation.--World War II.--The postwar period.--Towards NATO.--The defence force.--The reaction.--The cold war.--The navy takes over.--Television troubles.--Trade with the Eastern bloc.--Defence as income.--The reason why.--The political outlook.--A good place.--Appendixes.

Traces "Iceland's development from the policy of 'eternal neutrality' adopted in 1918 to membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949" and its attitudes in NATO during 20 years of membership. Other topics include the relations between the Icelandic people and the American force stationed on the island, the dispute over a NATO television station, and the influence of Iceland's trade with the Eastern bloc. Gröndal concludes with a summary of Iceland's military significance and of the present attitudes of its political parties toward NATO and the American troops.

1252
Groos, David. [IS MUTUAL BALANCED FORCE REDUCTION POSSIBLE?] Est-il possible de réduire les forces militaires des deux blocs? Revue politique et parlementaire, v. 74, Jan. 1972: 39-42.
H3.R4, v. 74

Delineates the obstacles to negotiation on the mutual reduction of NATO and Warsaw Pact forces. Groos emphasizes that any force reduction agreement must be multilateral and reciprocal and accompanied by adequate means of verification and control. He concludes that European stability ultimately rests on an agreement to maintain an equilibrium of military forces, even if this agreement does maintain the present level of forces in Europe.

1253
Haeger, Robert A. A KEY AREA WHERE THINGS ARE LOOKING UP FOR U.S. FORCES. U.S. news & world report, v. 72, Feb. 7, 1972: 26-29. illus.
JK1.U65, v. 72

An interview with General Michael S. Davison, U.S. Army Europe. Davison answers questions on a variety of topics concerning his command--its morale, reported as low; its personnel and material readiness, which has been questioned; racial problems within the command; proposals to further reduce U.S. troop strength in Europe, perhaps by as many as 100,000; practicality of the Reforger concept as an alternative to the stationing of U.S. troops abroad; and the comparative strengths of Warsaw Pact and NATO forces. Davison opposes further troop reductions--"I'm just about at the minimum point that I would want to be"--and would rather not depend on the Reforger idea--"Any military commander confronted with the sort of mission I'm confronted with--or would be confronted with in the event of war--naturally wants to have his troops in hand and in place." As others have suggested, "U.S. force levels here, are in the eyes of Europeans, really a barometer of U.S. intent and will to support its interests in Europe," and in that perspective, further troop reductions would be detrimental to U.S. interests.

1254
Hahn, Walter F. NUCLEAR BALANCE IN EUROPE. Foreign affairs, v. 50, Apr. 1972: 501-516.
D410.F6, v. 50

The NATO Allies face a failure of common confidence unless the growing divergence in their security interests and perceptions is checked. "A central cause has been the faltering faith of our European partners in what they have embraced as the pillar of their security: namely, the NATO strategic-nuclear deterrent." Western Europe fears first the possible withdrawal of American nuclear power, and second the presence of Soviet medium-range missiles, since there is little likelihood that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks can alter their disposition. Europeans are also concerned because they feel they have little influence on the Alliance's nuclear decisions. A Tripartite NATO Defense Force based on the nuclear capacity of Britain, France, and America might contribute to a solution. The weapons would be land-based ballistic missiles made available to cost-sharing NATO nations. The plan would relieve current fears, for it would demonstrate American commitment, provide a counterweight for Moscow's missiles, and distribute decisionmaking among the participants. Implementation of the plan faces several barriers and is not a simple matter.

1255
Heimbrecht, Jörg. [THE SCIENCE OF DESTRUCTION AND THE TECHNOLOGY OF WAR--A TABOO IN THE FRG] Vernichtungswissenschaft und Kriegstechnik--ein Tabu in der BRD. Marxistische Blätter, v. 10, Jan./Feb. 1972: 21-27. HX6.M32, v. 10

While the United States and West Germany ostentatiously adopt measures to preserve the environment, they continue to develop the science of destruction and the technology of war. In West Germany, the United States maintains hundreds of nuclear warheads and thousands of deadly gas shells, whose deployment the Bundeswehr incorporates in its operational planning. Despite its avowed policy of détente, the Bonn Government is preparing for a preventive blitzkrieg under the nuclear threshold. As part of this aggressive policy Bonn is including in its military procurement and research and development budget, among other things, the development of biological and chemical agents and nuclear-weapons carriers. As long as West German scientists continue to perfect this war machine and contribute to the destruction of man and his environment, permanent détente in Europe is impossible. The alternative is for Bonn to accept the proposal of the 24th Communist Party Congress of the Soviet Union to proscribe and destroy nuclear weapons and to replace the blocs with peaceful and egalitarian collaboration among states.

1256
Howe, Jonathan T. MULTICRISES; SEA POWER AND GLOBAL POLITICS IN THE MISSILE AGE. Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press [1971] 412 p. illus.
V25.H68
Bibliography: p. [368]-399.

Contents.--Preface, by Jonathan T. Howe.--Introduction.--The Middle East crisis of 1967.--The Quemoy conflict of 1958.--The two crises and future trends.--Appendix A. Statements by President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles concerning the Quemoy crisis of 1958.--Appendix B. Selected interviews.--Appendix C. Bibliography.

Examines the military, political, economic and international elements of U.S. capabilities to handle its global responsibilities of the 1970's by a detailed study of past American involvement

in the Quemoy crisis of 1958 and the Middle East crisis of 1967. Howe analyzes American decision-making processes and evaluates the effectiveness of conventional naval forces in a future multicrisis--a situation in which one copes "with a second threat while dealing with a preexisting crisis." He assesses the meaning of Soviet naval expansion and British withdrawal from the extra-European world, and cautions against a lapse of American naval strength.

1257
INTERNATIONAL SECURITY; REFLECTIONS ON SURVIVAL AND STABILITY. Edited by Kenneth J. Twitchett. London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1971. 148 p. (Oxford paperbacks, 245)
JX1953.I57

"Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs."
Includes bibliographies.

Contents.--Strategies for security: some theoretical considerations, by Kenneth J. Twitchett.--Towards a more dangerous world? by Neville Brown.--The security functions of the United Nations, by Alan James.--The problem of security in Europe, by Peter Nailor.

Four essays defining international security and examining the prospects for future international stability. Twitchett compares the different theories of security whereby a state can seek security alone or in combination with other states, unilateralism, balance of power, collective security, and collective defense and regional arrangements. Brown surveys the security problems posed by rapid technological improvements in weaponry and the social and economic pressures of growing populations and diminishing natural resources. James examines the probable role of the United Nations in future world peacekeeping operations, and Nailor discusses the problems of European security.

1258
Irwin, Christopher. NUCLEAR ASPECTS OF WEST EUROPEAN DEFENCE INTEGRATION. International affairs (London) v. 47, Oct. 1971: 679-691.
JX1.I53, v. 47

Discusses the defects of the present West European defense system and examines the question of unification of British and French nuclear forces as part of the larger problem of creating an integrated European defense system. Irwin concludes that "a nuclear force under joint European control cannot be formed until there is a European state to operate it."

1259
Janowitz, Morris. VOLUNTEER ARMED FORCES AND MILITARY PURPOSE. Foreign affairs, v. 50, Apr. 1972: 427-443.
D410.F6, v. 50

Discusses the evolution of today's army, the concept of a mass army, and the decline of mass armies following the deployment of nuclear weapons. Janowitz asserts that future military strategy will be determined by the two prime targets of American foreign policy--Western Europe and Southeast Asia. Sociologically and culturally speaking it is reasonably easy to occupy Western Europe with deterrent power, and almost impossible to keep troops in Southeast Asia. The manner of deploying troops for deterrence is still being debated between the absolutists who advocate assault ability and the pragmatists who feel the military must be constrained. Janowitz also discusses the problems of an all-volunteer army and stresses eight requirements for such an operation. He explains the concept of a constabulary force, a concept that encourages radical change in the profession while maintaining contact with past military traditions, thus being able to seek "viable international relations rather than victory."

1260
Kalckreuth, Jürg von. [THE ROLE OF AMERICA AS AN ATLANTIC PARTNER] Die Rolle Amerikas als atlantischer Partner. Wehrkunde, v. 20, Dec. 1971: 620-625.
U3.W396, v. 20

Examines the American position in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and concludes that the United States is the essential member not only in terms of its nuclear arsenal but also in its continuing commitment to the Alliance's conventional forces. The European member states and the United States together present a credible deterrent. This deterrent capability must be preserved, for Soviet capabilities are increasing and Soviet interpretations of détente are unclear. Although initiatives like the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, the proposed European security conference, the planned mutual balanced force reduction negotiations and the new Ostpolitik are aimed at providing security, they are not substitutes for a constant deterrent capability. Kalckreuth stresses the necessity for NATO members to speak with one voice in negotiations with the East.

1261
Kasprzak, John F. HOPE IN A NEW "TERROR BALANCE." Far Eastern economic review, v. 71, Feb. 26, 1972: 18-19. illus.
HC411.F18, v. 71

Argues that the introduction of the multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle (MIRV) into the strategic equation is not necessarily destabilizing. The incorporation of MIRV into each superpower's proposed underwater ballistic missile system would ensure strategic stability by allowing each to maintain its assured-destruction capability. A strategic stalemate similar to the finite deterrence of the 1960's would be created, but at a higher level of dissuasion.

1262
Kintner, William R., and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff. SOVIET MILITARY TRENDS: IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. SECURITY. Washington, American Enterprise Institute [1971] 50 p. illus. (American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. Special analysis no. 6) UA770.K54

"This study was initiated in 1971 as a joint project of the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research and the Foreign Policy Research Institute."

Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Relative military capabilities: The United States and the Soviet Union.--Important considerations.--Alternative emphases in Soviet foreign policy. -Regional applications.--Global issues.--Conclusions.--Appendix A: comparative U.S. and Soviet military forces.--Appendix B: regional implications.

Examines the change in the Soviet-American military balance brought about by the buildup of Soviet conventional and strategic forces and analyzes the effect of this expansion on Soviet foreign policy and regional balances throughout the world, as well as on approaches to arms control, international organization, and issues of politicoeconomic and technological development. Kintner and Pfaltzgraff conclude "that the nuclear protection provided by U.S. strategic forces to our friends and allies is being reduced by the vast increase in Soviet military capabilities. In addition, the Soviet Union appears to be developing naval and air forces capable of projecting its political influence on a global scale." The authors feel that the Soviet Union will probably attempt to establish its political influence wherever it can by whatever means are appropriate, strengthened by a military standing it has never before possessed.

1263
Kohl, Wilfrid L. FRENCH NUCLEAR DIPLOMACY. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1971. 412 p. DC412.K65

Bibliography: p. [385]-402.

Partial contents.--Introduction.--pt. 1. The background: The nuclear program of the Fourth Republic. From the Fourth to the Fifth Republic: the diplomatic setting, de Gaulle's tripartite proposal, and the nuclear issue in 1958. The genesis of the Gaullist Force de Frappe and France's entry into the nuclear club.--pt. 2. The force de dissuasion: its rationale and evolution: Nuclear weapons and Gaullist foreign policy. The technology and economics of the French nuclear force.--pt. 3. France and her allies: the international implications of Gaullist strategy: The French nuclear force, NATO, and Franco-American relations. The French nuclear force and Franco-German relations. Nuclear issues in Franco-British relations. Conclusion and prospects.--Index.

Studies "the French nuclear force, its origins under the Fourth Republic, and the policy shifts which guided its development under the Fifth Republic of General de Gaulle," investigates "the interrelationship between French nuclear armament and French foreign policy," and examines "the role of French nuclear diplomacy in France's relations with [its] key alliance partners." Kohl contends that the domestic instabilities of 1968 and the subsequent strains on France's economy prevented a large French nuclear weapons force and proved that a worldwide nuclear capability was beyond France's means. General de Gaulle opposed all arms control and disarmament measures because they impeded France's nuclear development and its pursuit of grandeur. Under Pompidou, a less ambitious program is envisioned in accordance with France's capabilities and desire to cooperate with the NATO Nuclear Planning Group. France will continue to develop further its nuclear capability in the hope of increasing its status and security in Europe.

1264
Kuentz, Peter. [A STICKY PROBLEM: "NATIONAL SERVICE FOR GIRLS"] Ein heisses Eisen: "Nationaldienst für Mädchen." Echo, v. 52, Jan. 1972: 9-10. DQ1.E25, v. 52

The recent enfranchisement of Swiss women has elicited considerable debate on whether women should be subject to the same national service obligations as men. A study group on the problem named by four Swiss women's organizations proposed four models: (A) comprehensive service of the same duration as that for men, (B) a one-week obligation for which specialized training could be substituted, (C) creation of a voluntary cadre to train women obligatorily called up during periods of national crisis, and (D) a voluntary social service for work in hospitals and like facilities. The study group found Model A unrealistic, at least in peacetime, and selected Model B as both purposeful and politically attainable. Model C was regarded as a viable alternative should Model B fail to find popular acceptance. Model D unrealistically presupposed the existence of position vacancies and training opportunities in the country's medical facilities. Fortunately, the European political situation is not such that all Swiss human resources must be directed toward meeting the outbreak of war. Switzerland can surely count on its women in times of war or national emergency without having to institutionalize their energetic support.

1265
Lee, John. THE NATIONAL GUARD AND NATIONAL SECURITY. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Jan. 1972: 9-16. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 52

The dual character of the National Guard as both reserve fighting force and reserve police force raises serious problems. Overlapping Federal and State responsibilities are a prime source of ad-

ministrative tangles. The splitting of single divisions between two or more states is another fruitful source of difficulties. The recent increased emphasis on riot-control training has complicated the problem of fulfilling Federal mission requirements, while social stresses, to which the Guardsman is much more exposed than the regular, the advent of the all-volunteer Army concept, and the longer activation periods necessitated by civil disorders, all contribute to the difficulties of recruitment and retention. Yet all the evidence indicates that the administration intends to rely to an ever-greater degree on the reserve forces for national security. It is imperative then that the Guard be reorganized along lines that will enable it to discharge its old and new functions--the enforcement of order in the urbanized states, the prosecution of counterinsurgency operations in the cities should the situation deteriorate to the point of open warfare, and the maintenance of full capabilities as a combat reserve force.

1266
Lesher, J. Griffin. ARMS SALES TO LATIN AMERICA: A POLICY FOR THE SEVENTIES. [Washington, Student Advisory Committee on International Affairs] 1970. 11 p. (Studies in American foreign policy no. 2)
E183.7.S75 no. 2
Includes bibliographical references.

Proposes a U.S. military aid policy for Latin America in the seventies that will minimize the unfavorable American image as major arms supplier by placing the responsibility for weapons procurement squarely on the Latin American governments. The policy would allow the Latin American governments to determine their own defense requirements without the presence of American military representatives and to purchase arms on a strictly cash-and-carry basis through normal business channels. In this way there would be no public credit extended by the American taxpayers to subsidize the Latin American military establishment and American economic assistance would not be dependent on the recipient's allocations to military uses.

1267
Li, Cheng-chung. THE CHINESE COMMUNIST WAR TACTICS AND PEACE STRATEGY. [Taipei] World Anti-communist League, China Chapter, 1970. 103 p. (Publications of the APACLROC: Pamphlets, no. 147)
DS740.4.L447

Contents.--The blueprint of the so-called Chinese Communist "World Revolution."--The Chinese Communist two-handed strategy.--Current Chinese Communist war lines.--Current Chinese Communist peace strategy.--New situation in the world anti-Communist struggle.

Depicts Communist Chinese strategy for "world revolution" as composed of two parts, war and peace tactics, which are implemented alternately or simultaneously as needed to confuse China's enemies. "When the situation favors the Chinese Communists, they attack violently. When the situation does not favor them, they adopt peace offensive to conserve their strength and wait for the favorable opportunity."

1268
Licklider, Roy E. POLICY SCIENTISTS AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS. In The use and abuse of social science. Edited by Irving L. Horowitz. New Brunswick, N.J., Transaction Books; distributed by Dutton [New York, 1971] p. 272-295. illus. (Transaction studies in social policy, SP2)
H53.U5U8
Notes: p. 293-295.

"The essays contained in The Use and Abuse of Social Science are drawn from papers originally presented at a conference on the theme of social science and national policy, held in November 1969 at Rutgers University." Data used in this study was collected for the author's doctoral dissertation, The Private Nuclear Strategists, scheduled for publication by Ohio State University Press in 1971, "financed by a grant from the Council on International Relations, Yale University, and by supplementary computer funds from the National Science Foundation. . . . Computations for this particular paper were supported by a grant from the Center for Computation and Information Services, Rutgers University."

Summarizes the results of data collected on "private nuclear strategists," a group "composed of 491 individuals who had written one book or three articles or papers on nuclear weapons policy between 1946 and 1964 inclusively, while not directly employed full-time by the government." Of these, 191 persons, or 39 percent, returned an 11-page questionnaire sent in mid-1966. Licklider found that this sample had a high opinion of its influence on policy, that it believed there was an "establishment" of national security policy opinion, and that no significant differences exist between employees of research institutes, the federal government, and universities "in motives for entering the field, policy attitudes and periodicals read." He concludes that the field of nuclear weapons policy is stabilized and is becoming more academic in outlook. The private nuclear strategists carry on the continuing debate over weapons and disarmament policy, from which certain dominant concepts emerge. The policy debate between the professional military and Government officialdom, the other two groups in the strategic community, is concerned with the translation of these concepts into policy.

1269
Linde, Gerd. [THE SOVIET UNION IN THE INDIAN OCEAN] Die Sowjetunion im Indischen Ozean. Köln [Bundesinstitut für Ostwissenschaftliche und Internation-

ale Studien] 1971. 24 p. (Berichte des Bundesinstituts für Ostwissenschaftliche und Internationale Studien, 34/1971)
HX15.G468

Contents.--A new Soviet naval concept.--The Soviet Union in the Indian Ocean.--The position of the People's Republic of China in the Indian Ocean.--The West in the Indian Ocean.--Ceylon.--The Red Sea.--Final thoughts.

Outlines the background of the Soviet naval penetration of the Indian Ocean, the types and capabilities of the warships deployed, and Soviet and Western bases in the area. With neither aircraft carriers nor land bases for long-range aircraft, the Soviets cannot become the dominant power in the Indian Ocean. What the Soviets seek, Linde claims, is the spoiler's role, the capability to threaten the disruption of Western sealanes. In summary, Linde likens the Soviet penetration of the Indian Ocean to planning partisan warfare at sea.

1270
McGeehan, Robert. THE GERMAN REARMAMENT QUESTION; AMERICAN DIPLOMACY AND EUROPEAN DEFENSE AFTER WORLD WAR II. Urbana, University of Illinois Press [1971] 280 p.
D1065.U5M3
Bibliography: p. 263-274.

Contents.--Introduction.--The emergence of the question.--The period of deadlock.--The German rearmament question in transition.--The American shift toward EDC.--The success and suspension of American diplomacy.--The German rearmament question in perspective.--Bibliography.--Index.

A study of the American attempt to rearm Germany after World War II, concerning itself "in particular with the evolution of the U.S. demand for a German military contribution, from a simple call for more troops into an elaborate scenario for the future political unification of Western Europe." The decision to rearm Germany, McGeehan explains, came at a time when Washington feared that Communist action in Korea presaged similar overt Communist intervention in Western Europe. Any prolongation of the cold war caused by the rearmament of Germany is more than offset by the political by-products of the restoration of German sovereignty and facilitation of European integration projects. Even if German rearmament was a mistake, "this has been compensated for by NATO, just as Western Europe has become a 'zone of peace' without the political unification of its ancient antagonists." McGeehan concludes that the outcome of German rearmament has served American interests rather well.

1271
Mariska, Mark D. THE SINGLE INTEGRATED OPERATIONAL PLAN. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Mar. 1972: 32-39. illus.
Z6723.U35, v. 52

Describes the organizational framework and operational planning involved in the Single Integrated Operational Plan (SIOP), which is the responsibility of the Joint Strategic Target Planning Staff (JSTPS). The SIOP, which has eliminated the simultaneous preparation of war plans and target lists by the individual services, provides one list of all strategic targets and a single plan "in which all nuclear components are included to enhance mutual support and economy of force." Mariska contends that the integration of planning nuclear strategy under the JSTPS has made America's strategic deterrent more credible and gives the United States a rapid reaction capability to enemy nuclear attack.

1272
Marzari, Frank. THE DERANGEMENT OF MIRV. International journal, v. 26, autumn 1971: 753-770. illus.
D839.I5, v. 26

Argues that the deployment and development of the multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle (MIRV) destabilizes the superpower strategic balance of power by virtue of its potential counterforce capability, which could become so efficient as to lay the foundation for a successful first strike. "The effect of MIRVs has been to turn back the strategic environment to the 1950s," when the strategic weapons of the period, which were vulnerable to a preemptive strike, created instability by promising an advantage to the country launching the first strike. Marzari studies the impact of MIRV on the strategic stalemate in terms of its reliability, numbers, and accuracy on the one hand, and the protection of the target on the other. He illustrates by the use of tables devised by Lewis C. Bohn of the Hudson Institute the correlation between reduced Circular Error Probable and increased reliability and the destruction of land-based missile systems. Marzari calls for the elimination of MIRV and test flights to restore the stability to the strategic nuclear balance.

1273
Marzari, Frank. THE PROSPECTS FOR STRATEGIC STABILITY IN THE 1970S. Canadian journal of political science, v. 4, Dec. 1971: 541-558.
N&CPR

Looks at three probable strategic options that will be available to the superpowers in the coming decade: "defensive emphasis" in which the superpowers would be encouraged to freeze their offensive forces at similar levels while building heavy ballistic missile defenses, "the Nixon mix of deterrence plus insurance" in the form of ABMs and MIRVs, and "finite deterrence" with a ban on both ABM and MIRV. Of the three, the first posture is

at once the most promising and misunderstood, while the second "adds up to a classical recipe for an uncontrollable arms race fed by an action-reaction cycle" and is thus the most probable for the next decade. Marzari notes that the fundamental objection to the latter posture, which is the most stabilizing, is that it stabilizes the balance of terror and upsets those seeking a security system that is not based on mutual terror. With respect to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, Marzari asserts that the real problem is not so much to have each side achieve a balance between strategic weapons systems as to have them forswear first-strike capabilities.

1274
Mazing, V., and G. Sviatov. THE U.S. NAVAL BUILD-UP. New times, no. 5, Feb. 1972: 8-9.
D839.N483, 1972

Warns that the recent show of U.S. naval strength in the Indian Ocean is a sign of continued American aggression and that Washington is planning a large-scale buildup of its nuclear-armed surface and submarine fleets.

1275
Meehan, John F. SOVIET MANEUVERS SUMMER 1971. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Apr. 1972: 14-21. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 52

An analysis of the Red Army's 1971 summer training cycle. Meehan devotes special attention to the use of field maneuvers of division size or larger. In these exercises, great stress is put on surprise and seizing the initiative. In sharp and disturbing contrast to U.S. practice, Soviet maneuvers are offense-oriented from first to last. This "predilection of the United States for maneuvers that begin defensively and that of the Soviet Union for those that begin offensively provides a rather striking illustration of each country's view of the initial stages of any future war." Quite commonly, Soviet maneuvers have political as well as military training objectives. The summer 1971 maneuvers, for example, plainly were intended as a show of force for the benefit of the dissident regime in Romania.

1276
Meister, Jürg. SOUTH AFRICA AND NAVAL STRATEGY. Swiss review of world affairs, v. 21, Jan. 1972: 16-17. illus. D839.S9, v. 21

The closing of the Suez Canal and the construction of large ships that cannot navigate the Panama Canal have caused a revival of the Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope maritime routes. Indicative of this revival is the trebling of the volume of maritime traffic in and around South Africa since the closing of the Suez Canal in 1967. The Soviet Union, which recognizes the strategic importance of the Cape of Good Hope route, aims at reopening the Suez Canal and at weakening South Africa's regional military control not only to diminish the Western presence along the route but to counteract China's influence. Great Britain, once the protector of this area, is yielding influence to the Soviet Union which now has more warships and better port facilities in the Indian Ocean region.

1277
Milton, T. R. NATO--THE WRITING ON THE WALL. In United States Naval Institute, Annapolis. Proceedings, v. 98, Jan. 1972: 18-21.
V1.U8, v. 98

There is real danger that the longing for détente will undermine the will and capacity of the West to resist Soviet encroachments. Granted that today a war in Europe is most unlikely, Warsaw Pact military capabilities are a reality and an ever-present and discouraging reminder of Soviet strength in Europe. The antidote to the resulting demoralization is the maintenance of a credible Western counterforce in the European theater. The West may have forgotten the lessons of the early days of the cold war, but the Soviet Union has not. Dictatorships have longer memories than democracies, and are able to pursue their plans with much greater perseverance. The growth of the Soviet Navy in recent years is a prime example of long-term Soviet resolve. If the Western powers allow budget pressures to force ill-conceived changes in national commitments to NATO, as, for example, a precipitous withdrawal of U.S. troops, the rapid erosion and eventual demise of the alliance are a foregone conclusion. Changes in NATO are possible, even desirable, but they must be made with full recognition of the essential contribution the alliance makes to security and peace.

1278
Newhouse, John, and others. U.S. TROOPS IN EUROPE: ISSUES, COSTS, AND CHOICES. Washington, D.C., The Brookings Institution [1971] 177 p.
UA23.N54

"The work was made possible by a grant from the Anderson Foundation and by support from the Ford Foundation for the Defense Analysis Project and for other parts of the Brookings Foreign Policy Studies program."
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Pressures against the status quo.--Soviet policy, by Melvin Croan.--The military balance, by Timothy W. Stanley.--Why Europe doesn't do more.--The financial cost of alliance, by Edward R. Fried.--Summing up.--Notes.--Index.

Explores issues raised in the debate over the presence of American forces in Western Europe. Newhouse and his collaborators ask if there is a decreasing military-political threat to the West,

and question the stability of the balance between NATO and Warsaw Pact forces. They also probe Western Europe's financial ability to take over a greater share of NATO's defense so that foreign exchange costs for U.S. forces in Europe can be reduced. "From an analysis of these questions, the authors reach several conclusions regarding U.S. interests, choices, and future prospects."

1279
Nolting, Louvan E. SOVIET ARMS IN THE PENTAGON MIRROR. Nation, v. 214, Feb. 21, 1972: 238-242. illus. AP2.N2, v. 214

The usual analysis of Soviet military spending assumes that while military goals have high priority for the Soviets, the cost of military support is a heavy burden. The argument may be used by those who call for increased defense spending or by those who urge arms reduction. The weight of the Soviet burden is exaggerated by the method used to estimate Soviet military expenditure--i.e., adding "hidden" costs to the announced budget. An alternative method of estimation that compares the two budgets item by item arrives at a different estimate. For example, in weapons procurement the Soviets "prefer military austerity, while the American military go in for chrome, gadgetry and pushy innovation." Similarly the Soviets support more troops at a lower rate and do not maintain extensive troop installations overseas. The estimate of Soviet military spending by this method results in a figure close to that announced by Moscow. This alternative approach to measuring the Soviet military expenditure "is not tailored to anti-Soviet frames of reference or to continuation of high military priorities in this country."

1280
"OVERKILL IS NOT ENOUGH." Progressive, v. 36, Apr. 1972: 3-5. illus. AP2.P8655, v. 36

Coincident with President Nixon's trip to China was the Pentagon's trip to Capital Hill to defend its military budget requests for the next fiscal year. The Defense Deparment faces a formidable task in winning approval for a $6.3 billion greater budget. To their standard warning on Soviet nuclear attack potential, Laird and his associates are adding a new argument--the "threat of a 'technological lag' that will somehow imperil the United States despite its vast superiority in deterrent weaponry." An expanded research and development program is advocated to ward off the threatened inferiority. The fact that the United States has more launchable nuclear weapons than the Soviet Union does not ease Pentagon fears that America is about to fall behind. Presidential hopes and expectations for a political détente are not shared by military leaders. Viewed from the Pentagon, the future "is one of unremitting Cold War, of a perennial policeman role for the United States, of ever-escalating military budgets, of a world at war without end."

1281
[Perret-Gentil, Jacques] ["GIANT" MANEUVERS OF THE WARSAW PACT ARMIES] Les manoeuvres "géantes" des armées du Pacte de Varsovie, by J. Pergent [pseud.] Revue militaire générale; general military review, Nov. 1971: 521-539. U2.R48, 1971
Includes summaries in English and German.

Detailed coverage of the Warsaw Pact military exercises during the past decade. Perret-Gentil notes that despite the Soviet naval buildup over the past five years, the pact's naval maneuvers have never had the size or importance of the ground exercises. He concludes that up to the present the exercises have taken place in limited zones but that apparently Moscow wants to extend them.

1282
Peters, Werner. [THE U.S. PRESENCE IN EUROPE] Die Präsenz der USA in Europa. Frankfurter Hefte; Zeitschrift für Kultur und Politik, v. 26, Dec. 1971: 893-895. AP30.F555, v. 26

Senatorial agitation for a reduction of U.S. military strength in Europe is one indication of the present state of flux in American foreign policy. Senator Mansfield has promised to resubmit his recently defeated bill. A cut in American troop strength on the continent should be understood in terms of domestic perspectives and not as a prelude to an American abandonment of Europe. The Senate is seeking to regain a voice in foreign affairs and to curb the excessive prerogatives of the Defense Department. The Senate also feels that a cut in U.S. forces might spur the European allies to contribute a greater share of the costs of the Alliance. The Senate does not think that there is any likelihood of a military clash between the United States and the Soviet Union. Those in favor of a cut argue that trimming the forces in Europe would actually enhance their fighting effectiveness.

1283
Prentl, Sepp. [A HOLE IN THE NATO FRONT. THE LOW-LEVEL FLIGHT PROBLEM] Ein Loch in der NATO-Front. Das Tiefflliegerproblem. Wehrkunde, v. 20, Dec. 1971: 639-645. U3.W396, v. 20

Reveals that vast areas of West Germany are vulnerable to low-level surprise attack by airplanes and helicopters of the Warsaw Pact states as a result of the operational ineffectiveness of radar and standard anti-aircraft weapons systems at such low altitudes. Prentl describes the difficulties and advantages of low-level flight and the types of weapons that have proven effective against aircraft flying at tree-top level. He recommends extensive use of rapid-firing 20-mm cannon.

1284
Rao, Rama. CHINA'S MILITARY POTENTIAL FOR INTERVENTION AGAINST INDIA. China report, v. 7, July/Aug. 1971: 59-65. DS777.55.C4484, v. 7

China's army is made up of millions of well-trained, well-armed soldiers who require a minimum of logistic amenities. However, the lack of appropriate vehicular transport restricts the army's ability to intervene quickly in strength outside China's borders. China accepts war only as a last resort, preferring to achieve its goals by political and diplomatic means and engaging in combat only when success is a near-absolute certainty. For use at the Sino-Indian frontier, China has six divisions on hand in Tibet which could be augmented by another six. Tibet is connected to China proper by four strategic highways which could be used as reinforcement routes, but the distances involved are great and the terrain often formidable. To operate effectively, China's mostly limited range aircraft would have to be based in Tibet, which would hamper proper maintenance and necessitate reduced fuel or armament load to ensure proper "all-up" weight from very high Tibetan air fields. China's navy is still basically a coastal force. "Thus overall, China's intervention potential along India's borders appears to be fairly limited in the short term." Intervention would have to be low-level or through proxy. However, with China's nuclear and industrial buildup, the long-term possibilities are ominous.

1285
REACHING FOR SUPREMACY AT SEA. Time, v. 99, Jan. 31, 1972: 28-30, 33. illus.
AP2.T37, v. 99

Current speculation is that the Soviet Union is developing an aircraft carrier, a vessel it has previously scorned. Possession of an attack carrier would shift the capabilities of the Soviet Navy from the defensive to the offensive. In recent years the Soviets worked to build up their naval force until now the fast, young, powerful Red fleet is a "dramatic and assertive manifestation of Russian will and determination to make its presence felt." The expansion of Soviet capacity in underwater missile-delivery systems has proved to be a stumbling block in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. "For the U.S. it would be a stunning irony of the nuclear age if such traditionally old-fashioned objects as naval ships should serve as the force that helped to tip the balance of power away from the world's most technologically advanced nation."

1286
Richardson, J. L. AUSTRALIAN STRATEGIC PERSPECTIVES. International Journal, v. 26, autumn 1971: 725-734. D839.I5, v. 26

The general debate on Australia's foreign policy and defense options opens up a new perspective for Australia's international position. Australia is "developing for the first time a systematic national-interest orientation, with an attitude towards great-power allies approximating to that of other small-to-middle powers." This perspective is reinforced by closer economic ties between Australia and Japan, "which could scarcely be more alien in terms of those personal, cultural, and historical links which have in the past supported Australia's main relationships." The general debate has produced some agreement that a potential Chinese threat exists to the countries of mainland Southeast Asia and that there is a need to reduce Australia's security interests with respect to these nations. The greatest disagreement in the debate concerns the priority to be accorded Australia's defense programs. Short-term and long-term expansions of the Australian defense effort proposed by Bartholomew Santamaria (cited as item no. 744 in v. 7, no. 2 of this bibliography) are out of touch with the present political climate. A defense program emphasizing air and naval power has dominated the recent discussions by defense analysts who, in turn, are calling for more long-term thinking by government leaders. In view of the reduction of the perceived Chinese threat and domestic economic problems, Australia's overall defense effort is likely to be reduced. With the question of defense priorities at a critical stage "it would seem likely that political convenience will lead to the acceptance of those strategic arguments emphasizing air and naval power, and advanced weapons generally." The present debate has the ingredients for providing for such a program, but it remains to be seen how flexible and long-term the Australian Government's thinking will be.

1287
Rider, Graham W. UNIFIED LOGISTICS--AN UNHOLY ALLIANCE? Air Force magazine, v. 55, Mar. 1971: 48-51. illus. UG633.A65, v. 55

Argues that unification of the three U.S. armed services will result as a consequence of the unification of defense logistics. After adoption of the 1958 Defense Reorganization Act, civilian defense officials visualized Defense Department organization with "two separate and distinct chains of command--one for operations and another for logistics." Service-controlled capability in maintenance is the main reason why military items are not managed by a single supplier. With the elimination of the service technical capability, all maintenance and supply functions will be united. Rider predicts that by 1980 the armed services will be organized by strategic, tactical, and theater commands, with the Secretary of Defense possessing complete command and decisionmaking authority of the national war-making power "because below him the chain of command is split into operations and logistics."

1288
Robinson, Donald L. THE PRESIDENT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. Center magazine, v. 4, Sept./Oct. 1971: 58-67. illus. N&CPR

Traces the growth of America's overseas military commitments entered into after the Second World

War to contain communism and illustrates the degree to which Congress has been subordinated to the President in the making and execution of national security and defense policies. Robinson outlines several proposals to restore the balance but contends that as long as America defends the free world against Communist aggression and sustains the cold war, the separation-of-powers system will be violated and presidential autocracy continue. Restoration of the classical constitutional balance in American government can be achieved only with a revitalization of U.S. foreign policy and national security requirements.

1289
Roett, Riordan, and James F. Tierney, comps. THE MILITARY IN LATIN AMERICA. International journal of politics, v. 1, summer/fall 1971: 105-285.
N&CPR

Entire issue is devoted to the military in Latin America.

Contents.--General introduction.--Notes on political participation of the military in Latin America, by Oscar Cuéllar.--Argentina: an introduction. Military allegiance and political control of the army during the Peronist regime (1946-1955), by Alain Rouquié.--Peru: an introduction. Message to the nation on the agrarian reform, from the President of the Republic of Peru, General Juan Velasco Alvarado (Lima, June 24, 1969). Antecedents of the new orientation of the armed forces in Peru, by Luis Valdez Pallete.--Brazil: an introduction. Power and the military in Brazil, by Jose Arthur Rios. Institutional acts of the Brazilian Government.--Mexico: an introduction. The army today, by Jorge Alberto Lozoya.

Articles on the role of the armed forces in the societies of Latin America exploring the causes and the consequences of military intervention in civil affairs. Cuéllar offers a general and exploratory analysis of civil-military interaction, raising questions concerning the social origins of military cadres, their professional socialization, the link between intervention and social conflict, the position of the military in the social division of labor, relationships between the military and the central government, and the significance of various international linkages. The remaining articles deal with specific countries--Argentina, Peru and Brazil, in all three of which military men hold power and whose history records frequent interventions in the political process, and Mexico, where for some time now the military has stood aside from politics.

1290
Schwarz, Urs. [ON THE STRATEGIC SITUATION IN THE WORLD IN 1972] Zur strategischen Weltlage 1972. Schweizer Monatshefte, v. 51, Jan. 1972: 725-733.
AP32.S47, v. 51

Reviews recent strategic developments in terms of the prospects for 1972. Schwarz expects the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) to provide a formula for the maintenance of the nuclear balance but no equation leading to nuclear disarmament. The emergence of China will not really alter the fact that Moscow still regards Washington as its arch enemy and Washington in turn sees Moscow as using communism as an instrument of power politics, subversion, and demagoguery. Different perspectives also becloud the views of the prospective participants in the proposed European security conference. The Soviets see the opportunity to weaken NATO, maneuver the recognition of the German Democratic Republic, and obtain Western development aid. Eastern Europe, on the other hand, hopes to win a greater degree of political maneuverability. The West has been generally apprehensive but has lately come to recognize the conference as a possible instrument for détente. Schwarz thinks that no progress is likely in 1972 on mutual balanced force reductions because of the asymmetry of forces and the incomparability of geography. Perhaps exchanges of information (as at SALT) on the state of conventional forces will take place.

1291
Scribner, Jeffrey L. THE PRESIDENT VERSUS CONGRESS ON WARMAKING AUTHORITY. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Apr. 1972: 87-96. illus.
Z6723.U35, v. 52

Argues that whatever may have been the intentions of the Founding Fathers, the President has and always has had the power to make war for the United States--though not to declare it formally--and will continue to have and to use that power as long as required by U.S. security. Scribner draws some of his evidence from the debates at the Constitutional Convention and from later legal interpretations of the Constitution itself, but supports his case by citing the actual practice of Presidents and Congresses. Congress has declared war in only five of the over 100 conflicts in which the United States has become involved, suggesting strongly that "the executive has become paramount in the areas of military and foreign affairs and now controls the most important steps to war."

1292
Simonian, R. THE PENTAGON'S "BASES STRATEGY." New times, no. 9, Feb. 1972: 4-5. illus.
D839.N483, 1972

The recently-acquired U.S. naval base for the Sixth Fleet at Piraeus, Greece, is the latest demonstration of imperialism's global strategy and deeply disturbs the Arab States as well as the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty states. It is openly admitted that "the bases are intended first and foremost for aggression against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries." Acquisition of the Greek port is further evidence of the American "bases strategy" which is part of the effort to act as world policeman.

1293
Stanley, Timothy W. BURDEN-SHARING PLAN FOR NATO. European review, v. 21, autumn 1971: 24-27.
AP4.E78, v. 21

Outlines the economic difficulties of maintaining American troops in Europe and demonstrates that support expenditures have tipped the balance of payments. Stanley advocates improvements in European forces and wider cost-sharing among the Allies. NATO might set up an "International Security Fund" to expedite foreign exchange. "The need is for politically visible action now--and for an initiative by the Europeans themselves to remove the balance of payments 'marrow' from the trans-Atlantic bone of contention."

1294
Stirton, A. M. EMERGENCY PUBLIC INFORMATION PLANNING IN CANADA. In Canada. Emergency Measures Organization. EMO national digest, v. 11, Oct./Nov. 1971: 1-7. illus.
UA926.C295, v. 11

Address presented to the NATO Civil Defence Committee, Brussels, Belgium, Sept. 1971.

Describes the efforts made in the field of public information planning to reduce the effects of a nuclear attack on Canada. The components that would give information planners the capability to inform the public in time of crisis or nuclear attack include an emergency broadcasting system, a siren warning system, an emergency public information service, and wallet cards.

1295
Stoney, Paul R. OUR CHALLENGE AHEAD: THE NEED FOR DEFENSE. Vital speeches of the day, v. 38, Jan. 15, 1972: 211-213.
PN6121.V52, v. 38

"Delivered at Kansas State University Joint-Commissioning Ceremony, Manhattan, Kansas, December 17, 1971."

Although today the military is a public whipping boy, it may yet be called on to "become a man and defender of the country." There is always the threat from communism and the Soviet Union, which has increased its nuclear might while the American strength has remained stable. The military needs men who are willing to work for peace by maintaining a strong and determined defensive posture. Defense budget requests are realistic and seek only the minimum necessary to deter war or maintain U.S. freedom if war should come. "The B-1 bomber is needed to provide flexible strategic defense."

1296
[A STRONG MILITARY NATIONAL DEFENSE REMAINS THE BEST GUARANTEE FOR PEACE IN SWEDEN] In Schweden bleibt eine starke militärische Landesverteidigung die beste Friedensgarantie. Schweizer Soldat, v. 47, Jan. 1972: 9. U3.S23, v. 47

"Translated from Försvar uten kärnvappen [Defense Without Nuclear Weapons]."

Summarizes Swedish military policy as based on maintaining conventional forces capable of making a potential aggressor seriously ponder the advantage of invasion or intervention in the light of the sacrifices required. One of the problems confronting Swedish defense planners, the article points out, is that of a surprise attack, for Sweden has no standing army and its defense rests on its mobilization mechanism. The article recommends a more flexible military policy better suited to meet the contingencies of military and political change.

1297
Taubinger, Laszlo M. von. [EUROPE AND THE MILITARY FORCE RELATIONSHIPS AT THE END OF 1971] Europa und die militärischen Kräfteverhältnisse Ende 1971. Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitschrift, v. 138, Jan. 1972: 23-25.
U3.A43, v. 138

While in 1971 Western Europe basked in a euphoria of détente, Eastern Europe feverishly developed its military arsenal and extended its geostrategic encirclement of the NATO allies. The West's euphoria was not shared in capitals more experienced in the ways of Moscow, for both Belgrade and Tirana expect a serious political crisis in the immediate future. For one thing, Soviet intervention in Yugoslavia is certain. While the West has cut its military forces and the United States is about to withdraw from Europe, the Soviet Union and its satellites have increased their forces quantitatively and qualitatively. The ideological indoctrination of the Warsaw Pact forces has been intensified, while in the West a major crisis in troop morale has set in. In addition to the threat of their military superiority, the Soviets are waging a psychopolitical war against the Western democracies through offensively-oriented front organizations. Western Europe must, therefore, coordinate its economic, military, and foreign policies. The emergence of China as the third world power makes Western solidarity more vital, for the danger inherent in a two-against-one relationship would certainly involve Europe in the conflict. Therefore, Western Europe must become the fourth world power and play the stabilizing role for which its economic resources, human talent, and tradition predestine it.

1298
Terrell, Louis M. SOCIETAL STRESS, POLITICAL INSTABILITY, AND LEVELS OF MILITARY EFFORT. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 15, Sept. 1971: 329-346. illus.
JX1901.J6, v. 15

This study looks at some domestic characteristics of the sociopolitical system of 75 countries,

namely, societal stress and political instability, in an attempt to answer the following question: why do some countries expend more effort on their military institutions than do others? The data is aggregate in form and correlation analysis is utilized. Two major hypotheses were tested: (1) The greater the level of societal stress within a country the greater will be its level of political instability; and (2) The greater the level of political instability of a country the more likely it is to have a high level of military effort. In the case of the former, the posited relationship was found, but it was quite weak, the more interesting finding here being the pattern of the relationship, which suggests that a threshold effect exists wherein at high levels of societal stress extreme forms of political violence are more apt to occur. The latter hypothesis was generally rejected: the only relationship appearing was a negative one between political instability and levels of military effort for countries with low levels of economic development, which was the opposite from that posited. Thus, the more interesting findings were not the strength of the relationships, which were overall weak, but the patterns they took. (Abstract supplied)

1299
Tripathi, K. S. EVOLUTION OF NUCLEAR STRATEGY. Foreword by Arjan Singh. Delhi, Vikas Publications [1970] 212 p.
UA11.T75
Bibliography: p. [203]-208.

Contents.--Introduction.--The impact of nuclear weapons on strategy.--Quest for a credible strategy.--The strategy of deterrence.--Nuclear strategy and NATO.--The limited war.--Evolution of Soviet nuclear strategy.--China's nuclear potential and its foreign policy.--Nuclear policy of non-nuclear powers.--Strategy of anti-ballistic missiles.--New developments in offence and defence strategies.--Towards a strategy of sanity--road to disarmament.--Appendix.--Select bibliography.--Index

Traces the development of nuclear strategy, emphasizing the concept of limited war, China's growing nuclear potential, the policy of the non-nuclear countries, and arms control and disarmament. Tripathi warns of the dangers of nuclear weapons proliferation and advocates general and complete disarmament as the only solution to banishing war and preserving peace. The appendix contains the full text of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

1300
Ulsamer, Edgar. THE CATEGORIC NEED FOR A MIX OF TACTICAL DETERRENCE. Air Force magazine, v. 55, Mar. 1972: 40-41. UG633.A65, v. 55

It has been proposed that the United States rely solely on proximity forces--that is, sea-based air power--for tactical deterrence, rather than on forces garrisoned on the territory of an ally. Recent defense studies show that such a single-system approach makes as little sense as sole reliance on a sea-based strategic deterrent. In-country forces unmistakably commit the United States, ensuring no misreading of U.S. intentions by an adversary. Proximity forces are less credible because the commitment is less certain. "There are other advantages to the selective use of in-country forces augmented by proximity forces and air mobility, as opposed to only proximity forces." The commitment of in-country forces to allied nations most vital to U.S. security interests--the NATO and Japan-Korea areas--ensures against nonessential obligations spreading over the world. Host cancellation of base rights due to a diminished threat or a change in politics automatically readjusts U.S. commitments to suit new realities. Proximity forces provide an American option for nations like Israel, where no vital U.S. interests or binding commitments are directly involved. Use of proximity forces to influence events in the nonalined and developing countries has been shown to be nonproductive, and often to be counterproductive. Proximity forces offer no simple solution to the complexities of tactical deterrence and are of limited use in symbolizing a firm commitment.

1301
Ulsamer, Edgar. THE STRATEGIC REQUIREMENT. Air Force magazine, v. 55, Feb. 1971: 58-64. illus.
UG633.A65, v. 55
Summary of a "symposium on 'The Strategic Requirement," sponsored by the Air Force Association in cooperation with the Strategic Air Command in Orlando, Fla., December 15 and 16, 1971."

Reports on the proceedings of "one of the most candid and comprehensive briefings on the nation's strategic posture ever presented in public." General Bruce K. Holloway, head of the Strategic Air Command, chaired the discussions, which included presentations from Senator James L. Buckley, Defense Research and Engineering Director John S. Foster, the Strategic Air Command's deputy chief of intelligence General Harry N. Cordes, and other members of the Air Force, Navy, and Air Force Association. Subjects covered included Soviet strategic efforts in land- and sea-based missile systems, defense research and development, antimissile defense capabilities, and manned bomber forces, and the U.S. defense posture and its continuing requirements, focusing on the need for the B-1 manned bomber.

1302
Ulstein, Egil. NORDIC SECURITY. London, Institute for Strategic Studies, 1971. 34 p. (Adelphi papers, no. 81) U162.A3, no. 81

Considers the security needs of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, questioning the effect of current trends--improving East-West cooperation, an expanding European community, and

declining confidence in American defense commitments--on present alinements. Ulstein asks "could former traditions of neutrality and aloofness in international power politics reappear as the memories of World War II fade and the political climate on the world stage changes?" At the same time he points out that chances for increased cooperation are high and explains that the Nordic countries have already developed some skill in dealing with Warsaw Pact nations and might contribute to discussions on mutual and balanced force reductions. The Finnish contributions to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks are exemplary. Common Market opportunities also make cooperation attractive.

1303
U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services. Armed Services Investigating Subcommittee. CUBAN PLANE INCIDENT AT NEW ORLEANS. Hearings, Ninety-second Congress, first session, under authority of H. Res. 201. November 9, 17, and December 9, 1971. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972. 123 p. illus. KF27.A752 1971
Supt. of Docs. no.: Y4.Ar5/2:089.
"The deletions indicated herein were made by the Department of Defense for security reasons."

Inquires into the state of U.S. air defense detection capabilities, which, on October 26, 1971, permitted a nonmilitary Cuban aircraft to fly "totally undetected" from Havana and land at New Orleans Moisant International Airport. Testifying are the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Commander in Chief of the North American Air Defense Command, other officers of the Navy and Air Force, officials of the Federal Aviation Administration, and representatives of International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation. The subcommittee examined information transmittal between responsibile agencies, the responsibilities and capabilities of U.S. military detection and interception units, and progress in research and development of new detection systems.

1304
U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services. Armed Services Investigating Subcommittee. CUBAN PLANE INCIDENT AT NEW ORLEANS. Report, Ninety-second Congress, first session, under authority of H. Res. 201. January 3, 1972. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972. 12 p. illus.
DLC
At head of title: Committee print.

Reports the conclusions of an investigation into the state of U.S. air defense detection capabilities in the wake of the undetected flight of a Cuban airliner from Havana to New Orleans on October 26, 1971. On the basis of information gathered at the subcommittee's hearings (annotated immediately above in this issue of this bibliography), it was judged that "the existing United States air defense is virtually useless--it is more of a concept than an actuality," meaning that "sovereign U.S. air space cannot be effectively protected from intrusions of foreign aircraft," which reveals the possibility of an undetected, unintercepted attack from the south by any enemy with the requisite capability. The subcommittee recommends an accelerated upgrading of U.S. air defenses with the Airborne Warning and Control System, the Over-the-Horizon Backscatter Radar System, and the Improved Manned Interceptor, using the Backscatter Radar System as an immediate interim measure to strengthen southern defenses.

1305
U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Armed Services. AUTHORIZATION FOR AVERAGE ANNUAL STRENGTHS FOR THE MILITARY SERVICES FOR FISCAL YEAR 1972; SUPPLEMENTAL MANPOWER. Hearing, Ninety-second Congress, first session, on H.R. 6531 . . . April 15, 1971. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 120 p.
KF26.A7 1971a

Presents testimony of Army and Defense Department officials on the authorization for active duty military personnel strengths for 1972 and gives the statistical breakdown of the manpower program of the Army, Navy, Marines and Air Force for 1970, 1971 and 1972, noting that the 1972 manpower request of 2.5 million is almost 200,000 below the 1971 level.

1306
U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Armed Services. Subcommittee on General Legislation. NAVAL VESSEL LOANS. Hearing, Ninety-second Congress, second session, on H.R. 9526, an act to authorize certain naval vessel loans, and for other purposes. Feb. 17, 1972. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972. 36 p. DLC

Testimony of military and civilian witnesses regarding the authorization for the loan of certain vessels to Turkey, Greece, Spain, Italy, and South Korea. Admiral Zumwalt, Chief of Naval Operations, testifies that the loan of ships to friendly countries will enhance America's maritime position in the face of the growing Soviet maritime menace. He explains that by increasing the naval strength of America's allies the common defense of the sea lines of communications will be upgraded.

1307
Venter, Al J. SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITARY/INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX. International defense review, v. 4, Dec. 1971: 547-548. N&CPR

A report on arms production in the Republic of South Africa. South Africa's arms industry produces small arms and ammunition, armored and other combat vehicles, electronic equipment, aircraft and missiles. The country has become all but self-sufficient in arms production--naval vessels of large tonnage still must be purchased abroad--and, in fact, is producing enough of a

surplus in some categories of arms to permit the giving of aid to Rhodesia and Portugal, and the formulation of plans to get into the lucrative international arms trade, Israel, Madagascar, Malawi, and one or two West African countries being the most probable first customers. A nominal U.N. arms embargo has been a major factor in South Africa's determination to achieve independence from outside sources of arms.

1308
Weisz, Heinz L. [SWISS NATIONAL PURPOSE AND SWISS WAR PLANNING] Der Zweck der Schweiz und der Krieg der Schweiz. Schweizer Soldat, v. 47, Jan. 1972: 4-6. U3.S23, v. 47

National defense planning inadequately supports the national purpose of Switzerland, i.e., the preservation of the general moral, intellectual, and material wealth of the country. For this the state must guarantee the integrity of its territory, satisfy the demands of its population, preserve the natural environment, increase the country's resources, and establish and maintain law and order. Current defense planning is inconsistent with these requirements in that it is based on fighting a war of fixed positions on Swiss soil. This type of combat is costly in lives (to the defenders as well) and also sacrifices territory, environment, resources, and order. To match means with purpose Switzerland should develop a civilian defense force and additional police units for partisan warfare, create a three-dimensional defense capability, and acquire a limited offensive capability in neighboring states with passive nuclear protection and the tactical use of chemical weapons. This defense system would absorb in the militia about two-thirds of the eligible military population but is in line with the offensive policy of substituting sturdy, mobile equipment for manpower and the defensive policy of cover in depth.

1309
Weymann, Konrat. [SOLDIERS OF PEACE--A CONTRADICTION OF THEIR COMBAT MISSION?] Soldat für den Frieden--ein Widerspruch zum Kampfauftrag? Wehrkunde, v. 20, Nov. 1971: 553-562. U3.W396, v. 20

Examines the dilemma confronting West German soldiers who are simultaneously training to fight a war that cannot be won and striving to avoid that war and outlines the type of orientation that will dispel the dilemma. First, Weymann explains, it must be recognized that the Federal Republic cannot win any war of the types with which it is likely to be faced. The notion of victory must be discarded. Members of the armed forces, careerists and conscriptees alike, must regard themselves as members of the greater community and "soldiers for peace." In the event of war, their mission is not victory but holding the ground and preventing escalation in order to win time so that political solutions can be found before nuclear exchanges eliminate the need. This combat mission will demand of the soldiers even greater self-sacrifice, Weymann continues, than their employment in an illusory quest for victory through the use of nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons.

1310
Whetten, Lawrence L. THE SOVIET PRESENCE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. New York, National Strategy Information Center [1971] 50 p. (Strategy papers, no. 10) DS63.2.R9W47
Bibliography: p. 48-49.

Contents.--Preface, by Frank R. Barnett.--Introduction.--The Russian drive to the south.--The Soviet military buildup in the Mediterranean.--Implications of the Soviet buildup.--The prospects for Russian diplomacy.--Bibliography.

Analyzes the extent of the Soviet presence today in the eastern Mediterranean against the historical background of Tsarist and Soviet efforts to penetrate the region. Whetten assesses Soviet and American strategies in the area and warns that because of the recent growth of Soviet naval forces and land-based support facilities in the Middle East "differences in basic concepts of international behavior may be emerging that could enhance the Middle Eastern confrontation to the most fundamental challenge of the struggle between East and West since the Battle for Europe two decades ago." Whetten finds Soviet strategy placing increasing emphasis on the same geostrategic factors that governed Tsarist policy in the Mediterranean.

1311
Williams, Alan L. SOCIALISM AND EUROPEAN SECURITY. Socialist commentary, Jan. 1972: 13-14, 19, 26. HX3.S74, 1972

Rejects Britain's unilateral withdrawal from NATO as an example of the simplistic solutions that cannot resolve the complex problems of European security. Williams believes that progress toward European unity could be impeded by relaxing defense efforts and urges forward-looking research and planning for cooperation. The growing atmosphere of détente symbolized by the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks may forecast American reduction of its NATO forces, but at the same time it should strengthen European confidence and concern for a true unity which breaks down "the barriers that still lie across the continent."

1312
Windchy, Eugene G. THE RIGHT TO MAKE WAR. New republic, v. 166, Jan. 29, 1972: 19-23. AP2.N624, v. 166

The administration has asserted that the President's power to utilize the armed forces abroad without prior congressional approval is sanctioned by the Founding Fathers and by custom. However,

it is obvious that the framers of the Constitution intentionally reserved to Congress the power to declare war to thwart the President's arbitrary or extended use of armed force. Historical examples have been cited as evidence that the President has power to initiate military action on his own. Close examination of these instances reveals "that the early Presidents stayed within the bounds of the Constitution as it originally was understood," but successive twentieth-century administrations have encroached ever more deeply into congressional terrain. Unfettered Presidential discretion to act, accomplished "through an historical fiction, through legal legerdemain, and through an era of crisis," is a comparatively recent development.

1313
[YUGOSLAVIAN "NATIONAL DEFENSE" AND THE MANEUVER "FREEDOM 71." 61.5 PERCENT OF THE ENTIRE STATE BUDGET FOR THE ARMY] Die jugoslawische "Volksverteidigung" und das Manöver "Freiheit 71." 61.5 Prozent des gesamten Staatshaushaltes für die Armee. Soldat und Technik, v. 15, Jan. 1972: 14-17. illus. U3.S58, v. 15

Outlines the Yugoslav concept of national defense, adopted after the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia, and the implementation of the concept in a massive training exercise. The events in Czechoslovakia apparently convinced Marshal Tito that passive resistance is ineffective, for scarcely a year later the Yugoslav defense system was broadened to include the participation of the total population and to forbid surrender or the recognition of occupation. The scenario of the maneuver "Freedom 71" leaves little doubt, the article concludes, against whom the Yugoslav armed forces and territorial defense forces were simulating defensive operations.

1314
Yochelson, John. THE AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN EUROPE: CURRENT DEBATE IN THE UNITED STATES. Orbis, v. 15, fall 1971: 784-807. D839.068, v. 15

Presents the contrasting arguments in the current debate on the American military presence in Europe. Behind the debate lie not only conflicting domestic political views but different conceptions of the reasons for America's NATO contingent. Opponents declare the American presence unjustifiable in view of European prosperity, the East-West détente, economic inflation, and advances in transportation and weapons technology. Proponents argue that the American presence is partially responsible for the improvements in East-West relations. Yochelson hypothesizes the America debate by postulating some of the basic conditions in the domestic and international environment. He concludes that under these conditions, "the key to the American debate will be how strongly demands for reduction are reflected in the domestic arena and to what extent they can be controlled or directed by the executive."

CONSEQUENCES OF DEFENSE POLICIES AND WAR

1315
Aliano, Richard A. THE AMERICAN MILITARY: A REAPPRAISAL. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Jan. 1972: 51-57. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 52

There is certainly no dearth of theories concerning the role of the military in American society, but most of them have generated more heat than light. That the American military is a wing of the power elite (a view popularized by C. Wright Mills), that it is a tool of the corporate rich, and that a resurgent American militarism is on the verge of overwhelming the country are three popular descriptions of the military's role, but each adds more confusion than clarification. It is true that the military has great influence, the reason being the exigencies of postwar international politics. But it is also true that the military "functions solidly within the 'rules of the game' of a pluralist liberal democratic system." It is one of many competing interests that seek to influence Government policy, and it employs substantially the same means as its competitors to champion its particular version of the national interest. From this perspective, military influence "is as legitimate as the governmental process of the United States itself."

1316
Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED PAPERS OF THE ATOMIC BOMB CASUALTY COMMISSION, 1970. Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission, 1970. 6 p. (ABCC technical report series) Sci RR
Micro ABCC-TR-0-70

In English and Japanese.

Lists alphabetically by author 45 papers (nos. 709-753) published during 1970 under the auspices of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission, a cooperative research agency of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences' National Research Council and the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare's National Institute of Health. Most of the entries are medical studies dealing with the diseases, symptoms, and other aspects of the physiological conditions of survivors of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and of their descendants.

1317
Beebe, Gilbert W., Hiroo Kato, and Charles E. Land. STUDIES OF THE MORTALITY OF A-BOMB SURVIVORS. 4. MORTALITY AND RADIATION DOSE, 1950-1966. Radiation research, v. 48, Dec. 1971: 613-649. illus. QC770.R3, v. 48

The new (T-65) dose estimates are used to examine the mortality of 82,300 A-bomb survivors from

1950-1966 for evidence of dose-related effects of ionizing radiation, with attention to age, sex, city of exposure, calendar time, and cause of death. The reason for the previously reported excess mortality from cancer and certain other diseases in 1950-1954 is not further clarified. Thereafter, and apart from leukemia, and possibly also diseases of the blood and blood-forming organs, there is very little evidence of a dose-dependent increase in mortality until 1962-1966, when the evidence, by no means conclusive, suggests a more general carcinogenic effect. Examination of mortality from all natural causes except malignant neoplasms provides no support for the hypothesis that atomic radiation accelerates nonspecific aging in man. Through 1966, at least, excess mortality seen in the A-bomb survivors seems best explained in terms of disease-specific effects, especially leukemogenesis and, more generally, carcinogenesis. (Abstract supplied)

1318
Bienen, Henry, comp. THE MILITARY AND MODERNIZATION. Chicago, Aldine, Atherton [1971] 242 p.
UA15.B5

Contents.--The background to contemporary study of militaries and modernization, by Henry Bienen. --Armed force organizations, by Marion J. Levy.--Political development and military intervention in Latin America, by Martin C. Needler.--The military and political change in Asia, by John P. Lovell and C. I. Eugene Kim.--Swords and ploughshares: the Turkish Army as a modernizing force, by Daniel Lerner and Richard D. Robinson.--The army, politics, and the people, by A. Iskenderov.--Political development and political decay, by Samuel P. Huntington.--The African military and political development, by Claude E. Welch.

Essays on the role of the military in the modernization process in developing countries. These essays are the fruition of several years of investigation and analysis in a relatively new field of concern to the student of political sociology and comparative government. The earlier view that the military is a progressive force in backward societies is now attacked by those who have serious doubts about the performance of military elites in promoting modernization. At issue is the ability of the armed forces "to promote new technology and organize economic and political power."

1319
Boeck, Klaus, and Henry Krägenau. [CURRENCY EQUALIZATION AND BURDEN SHARING] Devisenausgleich und Burden-Sharing. Hamburg, HWWA-Institut für Wirtschaftforschung, 1971. 73 p. illus. (HWWA-Report, Nr. 2) UA17.B6
Bibliography: p. 70-73.

Contents.--Preface, by Hans-Eckart Scharrer.--Troop-stationing costs.--Deficit balance in payments as the starting point for currency assistance.--German-American currency-equalization agreement.--Anglo-German currency-equalization agreement.--Effects of troop-stationing abroad on the balance of payments of the sender state.--Effects of the German currency-equalization efforts on the balance of payments of the sender state.--Costs of currency equalization for the FRG.--Burden sharing--a complement to currency equalization?--Appendix.--Bibliography.

Study of the financial burden imposed on the American and British trade balance as a consequence of the stationing of military forces in West Germany and of methods for compensating the sender states for these costs. "The studies first give a complete review of the nature and scope of the currency-equalization efforts on the part of the Federal Republic, then analyze the economic effects associated with these efforts, and finally discuss the new principle of burden sharing." Tables clarify the text.

1320
Borch, Herbert von, and Claus Koch. [DISENCHANTMENT WITH A DOCTRINE: ON "WEIZSÄCKER'S" STUDY ON "WAR'S CONSEQUENCES AND PREVENTION"] Entzauberung einer Doktrin: zu der "Weizsäcker-Studie über "Kriegsfolgen und Kriegsverhütung." Merkur; deutsche Zeitschrift für europäisches Denken, v. 25, Oct. 1971: 980-995.
AP30.M43, v. 25

Reviews Carl F. Freiherr von Weizsäcker's Kriegsfolgen und Kriegsverhütung (cited as item no. 1656 in vol. 7, no. 4 of this bibliography) as a point of departure for pointing out the long-range instability inherent in the deterrent system and the lack of any security guarantee for the European states in general and the Federal Republic in particular. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks have little promise of success, while the proposed European security conference is basically only a code word for a new formulation of deterrent relationships made possible by German initiatives in the relaxation of tensions. Since this détente policy is designed to maintain the existing system of relationships, it is a function of that system. Weizsäcker and his colleagues have reopened the discussion on Germany's position in the deterrent system, the authors conclude, and the politics of détente and the coming security conference will bear heavily on that discussion.

1321
Brookner, Eli, and others. THE AEROSPACE PROFESSION IN RETREAT; A BACKGROUND PAPER AND PANEL DISCUSSION. Astronautics & aeronautics, v. 10, Feb. 1972: 26-41. illus.
TL501.A688A25, v. 10
Background paper by Eli Brookner and Jerry Grey.
Panelists: Albert J. Kelley, chairman, James Fletcher, William Hewitt, George Mueller, Thomas Pownall, and William Winpisinger.
Presented at the 1971 (?) Annual Meeting of the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics

in Washington, D.C.; the background paper was updated in January 1972.

Examines the unemployment situation among scientists and engineers in the aerospace industry. Brookner and Grey explore the present state of aerospace employment, current and projected levels of research and development funding by the Atomic Energy Commission, the Department of Defense, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, industry and employee conversion to other fields, and alternative solutions, including active political lobbying by professionals, encouragement of research and development incentives, and white-collar unionization. Following the presentation of the background study, the panelists offer their own evaluations and proposals and answer audience questions.

1322
Cade, Joseph A. ASPECTS OF SECRECY IN SCIENCE. Impact of science on society, v. 21, Apr./June 1971: 181-190. Q1.I4, v. 21

Examines problems raised by the practice of imposing secrecy on scientific work for reasons of national security. Cade contends that attempts to halt the progress of science by means of a security classification system are bound to fail. The progress of discovery can be delayed; it cannot be stopped. He also notes that security requirements are much abused. Nevertheless, he does recognize the need for some secrecy in scientific work and recommends humility to his fellow scientists with the thought that not even the most brilliant of scientific minds is entitled to set itself up as the final arbiter of complex sociopolitical problems of which science, after all, is only one element.

1323
Dickson, Paul. THE WAR OF THE WORDS. Progressive, v. 36, Apr. 1972: 36-39. AP2.P8655, v. 36

In the style of Humpty Dumpty, modern policy is to make words mean what officials want them to mean. The Vietnam war has spawned its own language, sometimes called Vietlish, "of sometimes subtle and sometimes not-so-subtle deception." There have been three linguistic periods: "UnWar I" which lasted until 1965, the "dirty little war" from 1965 to 1968, and the current "UnWar II." UnWar I invented the euphemism by which "troops" became "advisers" whose combat role was "indirect" or "tutorial" to promote the techniques of "counterinsurgency." In the second phase, as the level of fighting was escalated, it was described in diminutive terms, and the tense most used slipped from the noncommittal present to the future, suggesting that the war would have an end. Escalation was handled by habituation to seemingly insignificant steps cloaked in euphemisms--"pacification," "hostile citizens," "area denial." Current policy in UnWar II is to make everything sound very ordinary, thus "giving the war a patina of normality, optimism and even dullness." Terminology includes "protective reaction strike" and "just peace," which translates as "continued war without American combat troops."

1324
Falk, Richard A., comp., and others. CRIMES OF WAR; A LEGAL, POLITICAL-DOCUMENTARY, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL INQUIRY INTO THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LEADERS, CITIZENS, AND SOLDIERS FOR CRIMINAL ACTS IN WARS. New York, Random House [1971] 590 p. JX6731.W3F3
Bibliography: p. [577]-578.

Contents.--The question of war crimes: a statement of perspective, by Richard A. Falk.--On the avoidance of reality, by Gabriel Kolko.--Beyond atrocity, by Robert J. Lifton.--A legal framework. --The political setting: documents.--The psychological and ethical context.--Recommendations for further reading.--Index.

Probes the issue of war crimes, particularly in regard to the Vietnam war. Falk admits sympathy for the enlisted man who is forced to serve in "situations where the commission of war crimes is a normal incident of military behavior," but may be prosecuted for such crimes to preserve the bright image of the authority figures above him who may be guiltier than he is. In the opening essays the editors comment on the widening gulf separating the American people from their leaders and wonder if unquestioning devotion to the state will exist again. Lifton warns of the ease with which a nation can become numbed to atrocity and imperceptive of horror. The editors include legal samples from the war crimes trials following World War II.

1325
Gelb, Leslie H. THE ESSENTIAL DOMINO: AMERICAN POLITICS AND VIETNAM. Foreign affairs, v. 50, Apr. 1972: 459-475. D410.F6, v. 50

American public opinion has always been a key factor, an important domino, in the conduct of the Vietnam war. Hanoi's strategy has been to hold out until an American victory was clearly impossible and public pressure for withdrawal was high. President Johnson sought to please both the right and the left with assurances that an honorable settlement was near at a modest price. By invading Cambodia President Nixon pleased the hawks and by sizeable troop withdrawals placated the doves. However, American involvement in Indochina is not finished. If the war should become a dominant domestic issue again it would be difficult for any President to meet the public outcry. The only promising alternative now is for the Congress and Mr. Nixon to offer "a terminal date for the withdrawal of all U.S. Forces and an end to all U.S. bombing in Indochina in return for the safe with-

drawal of forces and the phased return of POWs." Such an approach should unite the nation and that unity should make an impression on Hanoi's leaders.

1326
Gopalakrishnan, S., and C. Rangarajan. THE ROLE OF THE INDIAN MONSOONS IN THE INTERHEMISPHERIC TRANSPORT OF RADIOACTIVE DEBRIS FROM NUCLEAR TESTS. Journal of geophysical research, v. 77, Feb. 20, 1972: 1012-1016. illus.
QC811.J6, v. 77

Measurements of the concentrations of short-lived fission products, ^{140}Ba and ^{95}Zr, from the French tests in Polynesia, which were carried out during 1968, 1970, and 1971, are presented. The data show that the debris reached the west coast of India in 15-22 days after the burst date for the three test debris. A comparative study of the levels of short-lived fission products at various stations in the northern and southern hemispheres following the French tests is also presented. The results of this comparison shows that the rapid transport of air masses across the equator by the southerly jet results in levels in India (west coast) that are up to an order of magnitude higher compared to levels at the same latitude in other meridians. The above radioactive data are consistent with recent meteorological studies on the magnitude of interhemispheric exchange in the west Indian Ocean. (Abstract supplied)

1327
Ichimaru, Michito, and others. INCIDENCE OF APLASTIC ANEMIA IN A-BOMB SURVIVORS, HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI, 1946-1967. Radiation research, v. 49, Feb. 1972: 461-472. illus.
QC770.R3, v. 49

Review of the data accumulated at the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission (ABCC) during the past 20 years revealed 156 cases of aplastic anemia. Forty of these cases were found among atomic bomb (A-bomb) survivors. Analysis of the incidence rate of aplastic anemia among A-bomb survivors was possible, however, on only 11 cases which developed among 79,184 survivors who are in the fixed population under surveillance by ABCC for delayed effects of A-bomb radiation. The period under consideration is from Oct. 1950 to July 1967. The relative risk of aplastic anemia in survivors who received 1 rad or more was 1.8, as compared with those who received less than 1 rad. The number of cases is small and the increase in risk was not statistically significant. Aplastic anemia among A-bomb survivors did not show any particular clinical characteristic. The risk of aplastic anemia among patients treated with radiation and workers exposed to occupational radiation was examined in relation to the results of the present study. (Abstract supplied)

1328
Iden, George. HUMAN RESOURCE COST OF THE WAR. Journal of peace research, v. 8, nos. 3/4, 1971: 293-298. AS9.J6, v. 8

The Vietnam war has taken a heavy toll on human resources in both the United States and South Vietnam. In terms of lifetime earnings, war deaths have cost the United States an estimated $24 billion undiscounted, or $10 billion discounted at the rate of 4 percent. Damages resulting from partial disabilities are perhaps two or three times higher. The cost of the war is substantially underestimated unless damage to the nation's human capital is included with the direct military cost. The loss of over 40,000 young men to the American economy is felt in reduced output, smaller labor force, income lost to the families of the deceased, and reduced revenues and increased social compensation by the Government. Though a quantitative estimate is extremely difficult to make, South Vietnam has certainly suffered proportionately greater human resource losses than the United States in terms of casualties and refugees. These categories number one million and six million respectively in a country of 18 million.

1329
Korb, Lawrence J. THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE AND THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF: CONFLICT IN THE BUDGETARY PROCESS, 1947-1971. Naval War College review, v. 24, Dec. 1971: 21-42. illus.
N&CPR

Examines the working relationships between Secretaries of Defense who held office at least 18 months--Forrestal, Johnson, Wilson, McElroy, McNamara, and Laird--and their Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). Korb chooses the budget process as a focus because of its regular occurrence, its unquestioned importance, and the relative availability of information. He concludes that the relationship's basic characteristic is its continually changing nature, which is chiefly determined by the Secretary's perceptions of his role. A secondary factor may be the temper of the current national environment. In sum, "there has been no consistent progression toward any particular Secretary-JCS relationship."

1330
Kourvetaris, George A. PROFESSIONAL SELF-IMAGES AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES IN THE GREEK MILITARY. American sociological review, v. 36, Dec. 1971: 1043-1057. illus. HM1.A75, v. 36

"Revised version of a paper presented at the American Sociological Association meetings, Washington, D.C., September, 1970. The findings and interpretations . . . are part of the author's Ph.D. dissertation (Department of Sociology, Northwestern University, August, 1969). . . . The collection of data was possible through a fellowship granted by the Council of Intersocietal Studies, Northwestern University."

The contemporary Greek Army officer corps is examined to determine its professional role within the modern Greek political and social structure. The analysis is based on historical materials and formal interviews with 100 active Greek army officers in 1968-69. It was found contrary to studies of military organization in Western industrialized countries, that the shift from heroic to managerial styles of military leadership had not occurred in Greece. Rather, the modal self-image of the Greek officer was a synthesis of a primitive and indigenous heroic value system with a managerial ethic derived from the contemporary Western model. Social background and military experience characteristics did not differentiate in any marked manner among varying professional self-images. Perspectives of interventionism and the reasons given by the officers for intervening in the political order are examined. Major reasons were the fear of an imminent internal communist takeover, a breakdown in political order and governmental efficiency, and a pervasive social decay in morals and public standards. It was found that levels of military professionalism were not correlated with dispositions to intervene in the political order. (Abstract supplied)

1331
Laurie, Peter. BENEATH THE CITY STREETS: A PRIVATE ENQUIRY INTO THE NUCLEAR PREOCCUPATIONS OF GOVERNMENT. London, Allen Lane, 1970. 247 p. illus.
UA929.G7L34
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction.--War comes to the British homeland.--What the bomb does to people, houses and other things.--Accuracy of rockets and nuclear effects against military targets.--Two kinds of nuclear war, and their drawbacks.--MIRV, ABM and the arms race. Hardware in space and under the sea.--Chemical and biological weapons.--British civil defence and the H-bomb.--Recovery from a nuclear war.--Government citadels in Britain.--The impact of latent nuclear war on democracy.

Discusses the possible consequences of a nuclear attack on England and the relative effectiveness of various defense measures. From unclassified sources Laurie puts together generalizations about the destruction done to a city by bombs of varying intensities, the accuracy of today's missiles, the strategies of military attack and counterforce, and the dangers inherent in an escalating arms race. Laurie also discusses more sophisticated weapon systems and detection and missile-destruction systems. He notes, in closing, that some of the escape routes and secret defense shelters available for Government officials in a nuclear attack might also serve in case of a domestic uprising or rebellion to protect the Government from the citizens.

1332
Leitenberg, Milton. SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY (II): THE CLASSICAL SCIENTIFIC ETHIC AND STRATEGIC-WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT. Impact of science on society, v. 21, Apr./June 1971: 123-136.
Q1.I4, v. 21

The classical ethic of science, according to which the sole duty of the scientist is to follow his data and the logic of his discipline wherever it leads him, has been a major contributing factor in the nuclear arms race. Pride in this ethic has blinded most scientists to the degree to which the organizing, managing, and funding of science is being used by forces outside the scientific community to direct science to nationalistic goals. Today, there is virtually no area of scientific research that is not of concern to military men, who fully understand the discovery process and have shown no inhibitions about using it for their own ends. Those ends are ruled by the dynamic of threat and counterthreat and fear of the scientific breakthrough. It may already be too late for the scientific community to gain control of the way the fruits of scientific research are utilized. But, in the event society refuses to mend its ways, it may still be possible for scientists to assert control over the research exercise itself. Inside the government and in the public forum, scientists have far more leverage on the political process than the average citizen, and they should use it. The classical ethic was dangerously misleading and ought to be abandoned.

1333
Lekven, Jon. ^{55}Fe IN HUMAN BLOOD IN NORWAY 1967-1969. Nature (London) v. 235, Feb. 4, 1972: 284-286. illus.
Q1.N2, v. 235

Reports the results of a survey of concentrations of the fallout isotope ^{55}Fe in human blood at various locations in Norway during the 1967-1969 period. This isotope, a low-energy xray emitter with a relatively short half-life, would pose little danger to living organisms except that iron tends to accumulate naturally. Two food chains--a sea-plankton-fish-man chain and a lichen-caribou-Eskimo chain--are the mechanisms through which this accumulation occurs in man. In this report, accumulation levels are related to locality, precipitation rates, and sex.

1334
Lerman, Abraham, and Harry Taniguchi. STRONTIUM-90--DIFFUSIONAL TRANSPORT IN SEDIMENTS OF THE GREAT LAKES. Journal of geophysical research, v. 77, Jan. 20, 1972: 474-481. illus.
QC811.J6, v. 77

Reports the results of a study of the diffusional transport of Strontium-90 from lake water to sediment in Lakes Superior and Ontario. The primary mechanisms of transport are diffusion in interstitial water and uptake by solid phases in sediment. A differential transport model is proposed that gives values comparable with observed ones. The general slowness of the flux from water to sediment "compared with the rate of ^{90}Sr remov-

al in lake overflow (12% per year) accounts for the small amount accumulated in sediments (4-6% of ^{90}Sr in lake water) and for the lack of noticeable control of concentrations in lake water by floor sediments."

1335
Mansfield, Michael J. WESTERN EUROPE AND THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY. Report of Mike Mansfield to the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate. Ninety-second Congress, first session. October 1971. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 22 p. HF1532.5.U6M35
At head of title: Committee print.

Reports European attitudes to President Nixon's New Economic Policy, and recommends means for improving the U.S. international economic position. Senator Mansfield finds the fundamental difficulty to be the failure to complete "long overdue adjustments in our foreign relations." He proposes, first, an end to American military involvement in Vietnam and Southeast Asia and, second, reductions in U.S. overseas aid, accompanied by greater mutuality of effort. Senator Mansfield concentrates particularly on U.S. military expenditures in support of NATO and calls for "a planned reduction of forces which will cut the size of the present deployment at least in half," because the excessive level of U.S. troops "has not only contributed to our economic difficulties but has warped the character of the North Atlantic Alliance" as well.

1336
Members of Congress for Peace through Law. Military Spending Committee. THE ECONOMICS OF DEFENSE; A BIPARTISAN REVIEW OF MILITARY SPENDING. Introd. by Mark O. Hatfield. New York, Praeger Publishers [1971] xix, 256 p. (Praeger special studies in U.S. economic and social development)
HC110.D4M43
Bibliography: p. 243-250.

Partial contents.--pt. 1. Military spending and Congress: The defense dollar. Intelligence and policy.--pt. 2. Strategic forces: Overview. Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system (ABM). Multiple independently-targeted re-entry vehicles (MIRV). B-1 bomber. The C-5A transport. Undersea long-range missile system (ULMS). Advanced ICBM (WS120-A). Superhardening of silos.--pt. 3. Tactical forces: Tactical aircraft. Main battle tank (MBT-70). Environmental warfare: anti-plant chemical weapons.--pt. 4. Naval forces: General purpose naval forces. Aircraft carriers. DD-963 destroyer. DLGN-38 nuclear frigate. SSN-688 attack submarine. Mark 48 torpedo, S-3A anti-submarine plane.--pt. 5. Military manpower: Overview. Land forces in Europe. Land forces in Asia.

Analyzes current defense requests and needs, sometimes criticizing Department of Defense positions. In the committee's opinion deployment of the multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle (MIRV) "is more likely to increase the likelihood of war than assure peace and security." Further, the committee found little reason to agree with the theory that development of antiballistic missiles and MIRV would improve the U.S. bargaining position at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. Instead it was pointed out that the Soviets would resist bargaining from a position of inferiority and might refuse to talk at all until a catch-up program or another major weapons program had been completed. "Deployment of MIRV not only complicates negotiations, but tends to limit options."

1337
National Research Council. Panel on Radioactivity in the Marine Environment. RADIOACTIVITY IN THE MARINE ENVIRONMENT. [Washington] National Academy of Sciences, 1971. 272 p. illus.
GC1085.N33
Includes bibliographies.

Partial contents.--Sources of radioactivity and their characteristics, by Arnold B. Joseph, Philip F. Gustafson, Irving R. Russell, E. A. Schuert, Herbert L. Volchok, and Arthur Tamplin.--Oceanic distributions of radionuclides from nuclear explosions, by Herbert L. Volchok, Vaughan T. Bowen, Theodore R. Folsom, Wallace S. Broecker, E. A. Schuert, and George S. Bien.--Index.

Summarizes knowledge acquired since 1957 about the sources, types, behavior, and effects of radionuclides in the ocean and seabed. Joseph and his colleagues discuss radioactivity introduced by natural sources, nuclear explosives, nuclear reactors, radioactive wastes, radioisotopic power generators, and other sources. They note that atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons has been the largest source of marine radionuclides and review the characteristics of radioactive debris produced by airbursts, tower bursts, and coral island surface bursts of nuclear explosions, and the degree of radioactivity per unit mass of particle. Also discussed are the effects of underwater nuclear explosions, the interaction of explosion debris with seawater, the characteristics of radioactive fallout contamination from weapons tests, and the implications for the marine environment of peaceful nuclear excavating. Volchok and his colleagues detail the nature and worldwide distribution of explosion-produced radionuclides in the ocean, primarily ^{90}Sr (strontium-90), but also examine the presence of ^{137}Cs (cesium-137), ^{3}H (tritium), and other nuclides less frequently found. References at the end of each of the book's ten chapters list over 1,000 research works on radionuclides in the marine environment.

1338
Nelson, Keith L., comp. THE IMPACT OF WAR ON AMERICAN LIFE; THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY EXPERIENCE. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston [1971] 395 p. illus. E169.12.N4

Partial contents.--pt. 1. The impact of World War I: Economic effects of the war. Political effects of the war. Social effects of the war. The effects of the war on thought and culture.--pt. 2. The impact of World War II: Economic effects of the war. Political effects of the war. Social effects of the war. The effects of the war on thought and culture.--pt. 3. The impact of the cold war: Economic effects of the war. Political effects of the war. Social effects of the war. The effects of the war on thought and culture.--pt. 4. The question of the warfare state: Traditional suspicions: political. Traditional suspicions: military. Traditional suspicions: economic. Recent allegations regarding the danger of merging interests: pro and con.--Bibliography: important works on the impact of war.

Excerpts from articles and books dating back to the 1920's commenting on the impact of three wars on America's economy, culture, and society. Each chapter is preceded by an introduction. Biographies of individual contributors are also included.

1339
THE PENTAGON PAPERS AS PUBLISHED BY THE NEW YORK TIMES. The Pentagon history was obtained by Neil Sheehan. Written by Neil Sheehan [and others] New York, Quadrangle Books [1971] 810 p. illus.
E183.8.V5P4

Articles describing the course of U.S. involvement in Vietnam from 1945 to 1967, based on a large Government-compiled, classified history and document collection--47 volumes in all. The reporters responsible for the articles say that they attempted to describe the history as fairly and accurately as possible, but acknowledge that their own conceptions may also be reflected. They think one of the reasons for the importance of the papers to be the insight they provide into the Executive Branch and its isolated, self-powered style of operation.

1340
Pierce, E. T. RADIOACTIVE FALLOUT AND SECULAR EFFECTS IN ATMOSPHERIC ELECTRICITY. Journal of geophysical research, v. 77, Jan. 20, 1972: 482-487. illus.
QC811.J6, v. 77

Changes in the potential gradient at six observatories in Britain, Japan, and Portugal, are examined over the period 1950 to 1964. The changes follow the same pattern at all six stations. The accumulation of surface radioactive fallout, following nuclear explosions, offers a plausible causative explanation for the potential gradient variations. This explanation is supported by similarities in the variations and in nuclear testing. Further confirmatory evidence is furnished by comparing British data on the potential gradient changes and on alterations in the near-surface ionization rate. Analytic development of this comparison enables the atmospheric environment at the two British observatories to be identified, respectively, as nucleus (pollution) dominated and relatively clean; this differentiation is confirmed by independent evidence and extended to the Japanese and Portuguese locations. The fallout accumulation considerably complicates studies of the electrode effect and of relationships between pollution and atmospheric electricity. (Abstract supplied)

1341
Polenberg, Richard. WAR AND SOCIETY; THE UNITED STATES, 1941-1945. Philadelphia, Lippincott [1972] 298 p. HN57.P568
Bibliography: p. 261-279.

Contents.--Prologue.--Forging a war economy.--Civil liberties and concentration camps.--The waning of the New Deal.--The struggle for equal rights.--The social impact of war.--Challenges to economic regulation.--Parties and politics: the election of 1944.--Soldiers, civilians and reconversion.--Epilogue.--Notes.--Bibliography.--Manuscript collections.--Acknowledgements.--Index.

Analyzes the effects of World War II on American society in the early forties. Polenberg discusses the changing roles of the Federal Government and the military, as well as the popular response to the war. He concludes that "the war exerted a profound impact upon the American people and their political, social and economic institutions."

1342
Read, Campbell B. TWO CASUALTY-ESTIMATION PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH AREA TARGETS AND THE CIRCULAR COVERAGE FUNCTION. Operations research, v. 19, Nov./Dec. 1971: 1730-1741. illus.
Q175.063, v. 19

The problems studied here may seem unrelated, although the analysis of each requires the use of the circular coverage function. The first considers an n-weapon attack on a circular area with uniform target density; the damage function is based on HUNTER'S (1967). The second considers a single-weapon attack on a target area with a symmetric normal density of targets, using a generalized "cookie-cutter" damage function. The damage functions used are believed to provide better fits to certain empirical damage curves than the cookie-cutter, and they have not previously been studied with the target models here. Algorithms are derived for calculating the expected number of casualties, or of targets damaged. Symmetric Gaussian aiming errors are assumed in both problems. (Abstract supplied)

1343
Reed, Jack W. ATTENUATION OF BLAST WAVES BY THE ATMOSPHERE. Journal of geophysical research, v. 77, Mar. 20, 1972: 1616-1622. illus.
QC811.J6, v. 77

Acoustic attenuation theory with coefficients obtained by experiment has been used to calculate losses from long range propagation along various paths in a standard atmosphere. Frequency dependence of attenuation has been incorporated into Fourier series approximations of positive phase waves from explosions to obtain net attenuations in terms of explosion yield and burst altitude. For some applications this incorporation improves on estimations from assumption of a single frequency of input. Attenuation results are presented for small 0.45-kg grenades burst at 30- to 90-km altitudes and for ton and kiloton explosives burst near the ground with waves propagated to 50-km altitudes and back to the ground near 200-km ranges. (Abstract supplied)

1344
Relyea, Harold C. HAWK'S NEST: THE AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL. Nation, v. 214, Jan. 24, 1972: 113-116. illus. AP2.N2, v. 214

Describes the activities of the American Security Council, a nongovernmental organization whose membership includes many defense contractors and retired military officers. Relyea describes the council as being firmly against communism and in favor of weapons superiority for the United States. Its most recent information program is Operation Alert, whose purpose is to warn the American public "that it may soon be at the mercy of Russian or Chinese military might." The council also provides a reference service for its members and collects information on individuals, groups, and publications thought possibly subversive. Relyea concludes of the council that "if it does not constitute the heart of the military-industrial complex it is unquestionably the soul."

1345
Schlott, Gerhart. [THE PROSPECTS FOR THE AMERICAN ECONOMY AFTER AN END OF THE VIETNAM WAR] Die Aussichten der amerikanischen Wirtschaft nach einem Ende des Vietnam-Krieges. Europa-Archiv, v. 26, Dec. 10, 1971: 827-834. illus. D839.E86, v. 26

Examines the prospects for successfully riding out the effects of a decline in military spending as the Vietnam war draws to a close, quoting extensively from the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency study titled Adjustment of the United States Economy to Reductions in Military Spending (cited as item no. 1934 in vol. 7, no. 4 of this bibliography). A great obstacle to a smooth transition to a civilian-oriented economy is the belief prevalent among politicians and workers that a lively armaments industry is necessary to stimulate jobs in a non-Socialist system. Nonetheless, proper planning, regional coordination, and an overall Federal conversion program can assist in the transition. Schlott warns against the double danger of funds reduced from military budgets being used for still other military purposes or of not being transferred to civilian projects. All in all, the prospects for a smooth conversion in the United States are better than ever.

1346
Shapley, Deborah. DEFENSE RESEARCH: THE NAMES ARE CHANGED TO PROTECT THE INNOCENT. Science, v. 175, Feb. 25, 1972: 866-868. Q1.S35, v. 175

The report of the Stanford Workshop on Political and Social Issues (SWOPSI), "DOD Sponsored Research at Stanford," has disclosed violations of the spirit of the 1969 Mansfield amendment limiting military sponsorship of university research. The Department of Defense (DOD) "continues to fund a great deal of basic research, even projects for which military applications are at best remote; DOD can also justify all contracts through an elaborate system of accounting, which ties even the most fundamental work to a specific, military objective; and, finally DOD, as a matter of policy, discourages scientists from stating military uses for their research." Project descriptions by DOD's Defense Documentation Center are frequently at great variance with the researchers' own explanations of their work. SWOPSI also found discrepancies in titles used by researchers and the military for the same projects. The report concludes that the Mansfield amendment, no longer in force, did little to alter the type of DOD-sponsored research at Stanford. Researchers are no longer required to justify the military applications of their work themselves, DOD maintains, because it does not want to drive off top talent or place researchers in uncomfortable situations. "The main point is that DOD now exempts all scientists from grappling with the key moral issue of the uses to which their research results will be put."

1347
Silker, W. B. HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL DISTRIBUTIONS OF RADIONUCLIDES IN THE NORTH PACIFIC OCEAN. Journal of geophysical research, v. 77, Feb. 20, 1972: 1061-1070. illus. QC811.J6, v. 77

Concentrations of ^{7}Be, $^{95}ZrNb$, ^{106}Ru, and ^{144}Ce were determined in surface water and vertical profiles in the North Pacific Ocean. Latitudinal distribution of radionuclides in equatorial waters differed from previous patterns of both terrestrial and oceanic fallout of long-lived fission products. Fallout rates were quite uniform across narrow latitude belts, with constant amounts of radionuclides occurring both vertically and horizontally in the water mass. The short-lived radionuclides were uniformly distributed in the mixed layer, but decreased in concentration as the thermocline was penetrated. Vertical eddy diffusion coefficients, calculated from ^{7}Be and $^{95}ZrNb$ data, were 0.5-0.7 cm^2/sec within the upper boundary of the main oceanic thermocline. (Abstract supplied)

1348
Solomon, George F., and others. THREE PSYCHIATRIC CASUALTIES FROM VIETNAM. Archives of general psychiatry, v. 25, Dec. 1971: 522-524.
RC321.A66, v. 25

Presents three case histories of psychiatric illness precipitated by experiences in the Vietnam war. The cases are those of a young Marine who committed an atrocity under orders and then murdered the corporal who had ordered it; an Army sergeant who made costly combat errors under the influence of drugs; and a sufferer from the "classic combat neurosis." These cases contain elements common to the psychiatric casualties of earlier wars as well as features unique to the Vietnam war. The authors speculate as to why the Vietnam war has the lowest recorded incidence of psychiatric illness of all American wars.

1349
Sprigath, Gabriele, and Kurt Steinhaus, comps. [INDOCHINA IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM. DOCUMENTS AND MATERIALS] Indochina im Kampf gegen den US-Imperialismus. Dokumente und Materialien. Frankfurt a. M., Verlag Marxistische Blätter [1971] 128 p. illus. (Marxistische Taschenbücher. Reihe Marxismus aktuell)
DS557.A6S69

Contents.--Preface.--South Vietnam in the struggle against U.S. imperialism 1968-1970.--Laos in the struggle against U.S. imperialism.--Cambodia in the struggle against U.S. imperialism.--Joint declaration of the summit conference of the Indochinese peoples.--Perspectives in the liberation struggle of the peoples of Indochina.

Indictment of U.S. military actions in Indochina. The text and documents are designed to demonstrate that every American reversal in Indochina only increases the intensity of the "U.S. aggression" which proves that Washington still clings to the fiction that revolutionary processes are externally motivated. But "the present position of Washington is characterized by a basic contradiction: on the one hand, the U.S. imperailists want to continue their neocolonial policy in Indochina; on the other, they urgently need that part of their war machine deployed in Indochina to fill out their global strategic strike-force reserves."

1350
STOPPING THE INCREDIBLE RISE IN WEAPONS COSTS. Business week, no. 2216, Feb. 19, 1972: 60-61. illus.
HF5001.B89, 1972

Criticism of U.S. weapons spending is mounting steadily and "even the military's strongest defenders are joining the cries for reform." They fear that weapons are becoming so costly that the Government cannot afford to buy enough, thus endangering military security. Other problems include: too many contractors, all of whom are trying to stay in business when they have little to do; too much "goldplating," or loading on the newest gadgetry; too little prototyping or looking at a variety of possible models; too many vested interests. Congress has the authority to restrain military spending, but to date has taken very little action.

1351
Takizawa, Yukio, and Ryuichi Sugai. PLUTONIUM 239, STRONTIUM 90, AND CESIUM 137. Archives of environmental health, v. 23, Dec. 1971: 446-450. illus.
RC963.A22, v. 23

Reports the results of an investigation to measure "accumulations of radioactive plutonium (^{239}Pu), radioactive cesium (^{137}Cs), and radioactive strontium (^{90}Sr) in human tissues over the period of the last ten years since 1960 . . . for comparison with the possible fluctuations of environmental pollution." Concentrations of these fission products of nuclear weapons tests were found in human tissue and in other organisms at levels high enough to cause grave concern. In light of the evidence, there can be little doubt that "radioactive contamination of the environment caused by nuclear tests is now creating serious hazards to mankind."

1352
Telegadas, Kosta. ATMOSPHERIC RADIOACTIVITY ALONG THE HASL GROUND-LEVEL SAMPLING NETWORK, 1968 TO MID-1970, AS AN INDICATOR OF TROPOSPHERIC AND STRATOSPHERIC SOURCES. Journal of geophysical research, v. 77, Feb. 20, 1972: 1004-1011. illus.
QC811.J6, v. 77

Radioactivity concentrations and activity ratios in air sampled at ground-level locations are useful in correlating the latitudinal spread of nuclear debris with a tropospheric or stratospheric source. In late 1968 and again in late 1969, China detonated a high-yield nuclear device in the northern hemisphere (40°N), and France conducted a nuclear test series (22°S) in mid-1968 and in mid-1970. An examination of the Zr-95 concentrations and Zr-95 to Ce-144 activity ratios indicates several time and space regions with similar radioactivity characteristics that can be related to one of these specific sources of debris. (Abstract supplied)

1353
TENSIONS IN THE WORLD OF SCIENCE. Impact of science on society, v. 21, Apr./June 1971: 101-190.
Q1.I4, v. 21

Partial contents.--The editor comments.--The value of manned flights to the moon, by Alan L. Bean.--Social responsibility (I): The impact of social responsibility on science, by John Ziman.--Social responsibility (II): The classical scientific ethic and strategic-weapons development, by

Milton Leitenberg.--Social responsibility (III): The myth of the neutrality of science, by Steven Rose and Hilary Rose.--An antidote for anti-science, by Paul Couderc.--Aspects of secrecy in science, by Joseph A. Cade.

Essays dealing with aspects of the public controversy over the social role of modern science and the social responsibilities of scientists. A general disillusionment with modern science and its fruits has provoked widespread criticism of science and scientists, and touched off a dispute within the scientific community itself over the responsibility of scientists for the social consequences of their work. Important questions relating to international security and global ecology are involved in the dispute. Perhaps the chief point at issue is the alleged "neutrality" of science and scientists in their professional capacities with respect to these and other matters of social concern.

1354
Terhune, Robert W. PREDICTION OF UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR EXPLOSION EFFECTS IN WAGON WHEEL SANDSTONE. Livermore, Univ. of California, Lawrence Radiation Lab., Jan. 15, 1971. 26 p. illus.
Sci RR
Microfiche UCRL-50993
"Prepared for U.S. Atomic Energy Commission under contract no. W-7405-Eng-48."

Project Wagon Wheel is a joint study by Lawrence Radiation Laboratory (LRL) and El Paso Natural Gas Co. (EPNG) to investigate the technical concept of nuclear stimulation of a natural gas reservoir located near Pinedale, Wyoming. This paper presents the results of computer calculations, simulating the explosion effects, based on equation-of-state measurements of core samples taken from EPNG Wagon Wheel No. 1 hole at a depth between 8,000 and 12,000 ft. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1355
Tran Van Dinh. THE ONLY ROAD TO PEACE. Progressive, v. 36, Jan. 1972: 35-38. illus.
AP2.P8655, v. 36

The Vietnamese have a "separate destiny," a sense of unity throughout the land, whose influence has been felt for hundreds of years. The only enemy comes from the outside and is "any foreign invader, regardless of race or color, who attempts to impose his will on the Vietnamese people." It is futile for Nixon and Kissinger to seek a peace settlement in Peking. The only settlement possible lies in the proposal for a Provisional Revolutionary Government that was put forth in Paris. The United States should withdraw its forces and leave settlement to the people.

1356
U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments. AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, 1971. Hearings, Ninety-second Congress, first session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 583 p.
KF27.F6483 1971
Hearings held Mar. 23-Apr. 20, 1971.
Includes bibliographical references.
Supt. of Docs. no.: Y4.F76/1:P93/4/971.

A record of the third series of hearings dealing with American war prisoners and missing in action along with relevant Congressional resolutions. The question is viewed from three aspects: humane treatment, immediate release of sick and wounded, and ultimate release of all prisoners. Testimony was given by a former prisoner, wives and mothers, various representatives who have had contact with the captors, and Congressmen. The hearings were judged to be successful in raising interest and concern for the prisoners and their families.

1357
U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Government Operations. Legislation and Military Operations Subcommittee. DEFENSE INDUSTRY PROFIT STUDY OF THE GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE. Hearing before a subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations, House of Representatives, Ninety-second Congress, first session. March 26, 1971. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 192 p.
KF27.G6674 1971a

Inquires into "the validity of press allegations that the Comptroller General's report entitled 'Defense Industry Profit Study,' [cited as item no. 1790 in vol. 7, no. 4 of this bibliography] submitted to the Congress on March 17, 1971, has been 'softened' or diluted as a consequence of pressures by the Department of Defense and industrial contractor associations." Testifying are Congressman Eckhardt who raises questions about the investigative methods, procedures, and conclusions of the study, and the report's responsible author, Comptroller General Elmer B. Staats. Appendixes reproduce the texts of the first draft report, dated December 22, 1970, the agency's request to defense firms and other Government agencies for comments, and their replies; the second draft, dated February 26, 1971; and the final report submitted to Congress.

1358
U.S. Congress. Joint Economic Committee. Subcommittee on Economy in Government. ECONOMIC ISSUES IN MILITARY ASSISTANCE. Hearings, Ninety-second Congress, first session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 435 p.
KF25.E243 1971
Hearings held Jan. 4-Feb. 2, 1971.
Supt. of Docs. no.: Y4.Ec7:M59/5.

Testimony of legislators, scholars, Government officials and industry leaders exploring the economic impact and costs and benefits of the American military assistance program. Statistical

breakdowns of military assistance given to individual countries since 1950 are presented. The appendix includes a bibliography of General Accounting Office reports on selected aspects of military aid from 1967 to 1971.

1359
U.S. General Accounting Office. SECOND REVIEW OF PHASEDOWN OF UNITED STATES MILITARY ACTIVITIES IN VIETNAM: REPORT TO THE CONGRESS [ON THE] DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE BY THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES. [Washington, 1971] 40 p.
DS557.A68U563

"B-171579."
Supt. of Docs. no.: GA1.13:M59/36.

The General Accounting Office (GAO) has undertaken a series of reviews of policies and procedures applied by the Department of Defense (DOD) in reducing military activities in Vietnam and of results being attained. GAO's objectives are to identify problems being encountered, focusing particularly on the logistics, and to bring these problems promptly to the attention of the responsible military commanders and to the Secretary of Defense while the phasedown continues. Considerable progress has been made by DOD and the military services to ensure an orderly phasedown and effective redistribution of equipment and materiel and to cope with problems identified in GAO's first review. This progress has been achieved despite the necessity to fully support forces still in the field and engaged in combat. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1360
Vladimirov, V., and K. Nizhegorodskii. "OPERATION ALERT": WHY THE PENTAGON "SOVIET DANGER" CLAMOUR. New times, no. 4, Jan. 1972: 21-22. illus.
D839.N483, 1972

Whenever international tension or the arms race abates, the Defense Department launches into another of its campaigns to persuade the American public that because the "'Communists are stepping up the arms race'" a greater strategic arms buildup is necessary. "Operation Alert" is the name of the current militarist program of the American Security Council in support of the Defense Department propaganda. The Defense Department obtains public approval for new strategic arms and then works arm-in-arm with industry for their mutual enrichment. The military services want new equipment while industry wants as many lucrative contracts as possible and neither regards the cost as important. The Soviet efforts to end the arms race will not succeed until Washington assumes its responsibilities.

INSTITUTIONS AND MEANS FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE

INTERNATIONAL LAW

1361
Black, Cyril E., and Richard A. Falk, comps. THE FUTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEGAL ORDER. VOLUME III: CONFLICT MANAGEMENT. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1971. 413 p.
JX3091.F8, v. 3

Includes bibliographical footnotes.

"This series has been organized and edited under the auspices of the Center of International Studies, Princeton University, with the assistance of a grant from the Ford Foundation."

Contents.--Introduction.--pt. 1. A framework: Conflict management and world order, by Cyril E. Black. Law and war, by Tom J. Farer.--pt. 2. Central world-order concerns: Internal war and international law, by Rosalyn Higgins. The role of regional arrangements in the maintenance of world order, by John N. Moore. Territorial stability and conflict, by Daniel Wilkes. The proliferation of conventional weapons, by William B. Bader. The proliferation of nuclear weapons, by Arnold Kramish. Civil nuclear power: conflict potential and management, by Mason Willrich.--pt. 3. The moderation of conflict: Sanctions and enforcement, by W. Michael Reisman. Arms control and disarmament, by Harold Feiveson. Toward the control of international violence: the limits and possibilities of law, by Richard J. Barnet.--Index.

A collection of original articles focusing on the role and place of international law in the management of international conflict, which the editors believe to be "the central problem of the international legal order [and] the fundamental yardstick by which the adequacy of the system as a whole must be measured." Part I devises a basic framework for the effective operation of conflict management in the current international setting; Part II explores specific problems thought to be in most critical need of conflict management methods because of their distinct potential for heightening the risk of war in the near future; and Part III examines the issues facing conflict managers as a result of the basic structure of the international system of sovereign states.

1362
Black, Cyril E., and Richard A. Falk, comps. THE FUTURE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEGAL ORDER. VOLUME II: WEALTH AND RESOURCES. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1970. 343 p.
JX3091.F8, v. 2

Includes bibliographical footnotes.

"This series has been organized and edited under the auspices of the Center of International Studies, Princeton University, with the assistance of a grant from the Ford Foundation."

Contents.--Introduction.--The relevance of international law to the processes of economic and social development, by Wolfgang Friedmann.--International law and the deprivation of foreign wealth: a framework for future inquiry, by Burns H. Weston.--Ocean sciences, technology, and the future international law of the sea, by William T. Burke.--The relevance of international law to emerging trends in the law of outer space, by Ivan A. Vlasic.--Index.

Examines issues of coming immediacy in economic development, resource allocation, and scientific and technological cooperation, and the role of international law in alleviating and resolving the resultant problems. Black and Falk feel that some means of international control will be necessary to bring order to national exploitation of the environments made accessible by new technologies.

1363
Blumenwitz, Dieter. [ENEMY-STATE CLAUSES; THE PEACE ORDER OF THE VICTORS] Feindstaatenklauseln; die Friedensordnung der Sieger. [München] Langen Müller [c1972, i.e. 1971] 141 p. (Langen-Müller Stichworte, Bd. 4) JX1977.B545

Bibliography: p. 133-141.

Contents.--Introduction.--The origin of the enemy-state clauses.--Content and interpretation of the enemy-state clauses.--Termination of the special rights deriving from the enemy-state clauses.--The significance of the enemy-state clauses for the security and position of the Federal Republic and for the development of interstate relations.--Bibliography.--Index of abbreviations.

Traces the origin of the enemy-state clauses (Articles 53 and 107 of the United Nations Charter), considers their significance, and discusses their relevance to the Soviet-West German renunciation-of-force agreement. Blumenwitz maintains that, while the agreement will initially improve the atmosphere, the inflexibility of the positions held by Bonn and Moscow and the lack of clarity of the treaty text will eventually cause problems. "The enemy-state clauses will only lose their po-

468-782 O - 72 - 6

litical significance," Blumenwitz concludes, "when Germany or its successor states are accepted into the United Nations" or the pertinent articles in the U.N. Charter nullified.

1364
Dorsey, Gray L. CASES AND MATERIALS ON INTERNATIONAL LAW AND SOCIAL CHANGE. St. Louis, [1971] v. 1. The law of conflict. 373 p.
JX68.D6

Partial contents.--Introduction.--Czechoslovakia.--Algeria.--Southeast Asia.--Germany.--China.--Suez.--Rhodesia.

Case studies of recent international conflicts to determine whether or not new principles of international law will justify the "widely held assumption that establishing the rule of law throughout the world will facilitate peaceful solutions to current international problems."

1365
Draper, G. I. A. D. IMPLEMENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ARMED CONFLICTS. International affairs (London) v. 48, Jan. 1972: 46-59.
JX1.I53, v. 48

There are four mechanisms for the implementation of the international humanitarian law applicable to armed conflicts: the Protecting Power system, reprisals, penal processes and education. The key mechanism, though largely in disuse since World War II, is supervision of the application of the law among belligerents by a Protecting Power. The use of reprisals, "a system whereby the innocent suffer for the wrongdoing of the guilty," and the use of penal action against violators are both ex post facto mechanisms for ensuring application of the law. The fourth mechanism, worldwide education in the law of armed conflict, might prove more successful than the others if fully exploited. The establishment of a permanent agency supervising the observance of international law and the exploitation of better instruction in the regime of Human Rights could play a major role in ensuring the regular application of international humanitarian law.

1366
Geiger, Rudolf. [INTERNATIONAL TREATIES AND ORGANIZATIONS. PEACE LAW, WAR PREVENTION AND CONFLICT LAW] Internationale Verträge und Organisationen. Friedensrecht, Kriegsverhütung und Konfliktsrecht. Stand: 15. Sept. 1971. [München] Deutscher Taschenbuch-Verlag, 1971. 335 p. (Dtv, 5094. Beck-Rechtsbücher für jedermann)
JX1963.G44

Contents.--Preface.--Introduction.--pt. 1. General international organizations and state relations.--pt. 2. Prevention of war and settlement of disputes.--pt. 3. Assistance pacts.--pt. 4. Human rights and basic freedoms.--pt. 5. Economic, trade and development help.--pt. 6. Nuclear energy and technology.--pt. 7. Labor and social problems.--pt. 8. Culture.--pt. 9. Air and outer-space law.--pt. 10. Law of the sea and Antarctica.--pt. 11. Water rights.--pt. 12. Law and diplomacy.--pt. 13. Laws of war.--pt. 14. Germany's legal position.--Index.

German-language outline of the major provisions of more than 100 international treaties and agreements and of the constitutions of international organizations.

1367
Hammarskjöld Forum, 14th, New York, Mar. 16, 1970. WHEN BATTLE RAGES, HOW CAN LAW PROTECT? Working paper and proceedings of the Fourteenth Hammarskjöld Forum. Howard S. Levie, author of the working paper. John Carey, editor. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., Published for the Association of the Bar of the City of New York by Oceana Publications, 1971. 115 p. JX4521.H29 1971
"Selected bibliography on the laws of war as they affect the individual, prepared by Anthony P. Grech": p. 89-115.

Partial contents.--pt. 1. The working paper; some major inadequacies in the existing law relating to the protection of individuals during armed conflict: The non-existence of and the need for a method for the automatic determination that a particular inter-State relationship requires the application of the law of armed conflict. The non-existence of and the need for a method which will ensure the presence in the territory of each State party to an armed conflict of a Protecting Power of an international body with adequate authority to police compliance with that law. The non-existence of and the need for a complete and total prohibition of the use in armed conflict of any and all categories of chemical and biological agents. The non-existence of and the need for a complete code governing the use of air power in armed conflict with the emphasis on the outright prohibition of any type of bombing which has as its basic target the civilian population.--pt. 2. The forum proceedings: Introductory remarks, by John Carey. Statement of Marc Schreiber. Statement of Richard D. McCarthy.

Addresses the problem of protection of the individual in time of war. The participants agree that the proposals made could go far to mitigate the inhumanity of armed conflict.

1368
Holton, Thomas. AN INTERNATIONAL PEACE COURT; DESIGN FOR A MOVE FROM STATE CRIME TOWARD WORLD LAW. Introd. by George W. Keeton. The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1970. 111 p.
JX1971.H65
Based on the author's thesis, Yale.
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction, by George W. Keeton.--The relevance of law.--International violence: the total challenge and the partial response.--Mission: a move toward law.--Medium: an international peace court.--The court in design.--The court in action.--The court in impact.--New premises for a legal breakthrough.--Making the move.--Toward world law.--Epilogue.--Appendix: Model statute for an international peace court.--Author index.--Subject index.

Proposes a permanent "International Peace Court to adjudicate the legality under international law of acts of transnational violence perpetrated by the governments of national states." Holton contends that the present doctrine of sovereign immunity prevents the impartial determination of state guilt by an independent body without the consent of the accused belligerent. The court, by publicly affixing responsibility for violent behavior, will function as a deterrent to that behavior, in view of the demonstrated sensitivity of governments to the moral judgment of world opinion. Holton foresees the eventual development of an international criminal law and ultimately "a shift from formal or ceremonial democracy to actual participatory democracy in the international community's exercise of its residual responsibility for maintaining peace and security."

1369
Kalshoven, Frits. BELLIGERENT REPRISALS. Leyden, Sijthoff, 1971. xix, 389 p. (Scientific collection of the Henry Dunant Institute, v. 1)
JX4486.K27
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface, by Jean Pictet.--Introduction.--General aspects of reprisals.--Evolution of the law as to belligerent reprisals in the period prior to the First World War.--The period between the First and Second World Wars.--Reprisals in the Second World War-I: British reprisals orders, 1939-1940.--Reprisals in the Second World War-II.--Developments after the Second World War.--Results and perspectives.

Examines the question whether, and to what extent, states are legally free to resort to belligerent reprisals in light of modern developments in international law. Belligerent reprisals may be defined as the use by individual states in time of war of enforcement measures "constituting imperfect, reactive, indirectly operating and nonfinal sanctions of international law." Kalshoven describes the major steps in the development of a law governing belligerent reprisals, determines the present status of the law, and examines unresolved issues like nuclear retaliation. He also offers recommendations as to how the law must be developed in order to make the present partial prohibition of belligerent reprisals absolute.

1370
Kelly, Joseph B. PW'S AS WAR CRIMINALS. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Jan. 1972: 91-96. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 52

The North Vietnamese Government has steadfastly refused to extend the protective provisions of the 1969 Geneva Convention on prisoners of war to its American captives. It justifies this misconduct on the ground that the Convention does not protect "war criminals." The Convention states explicitly that "prisoners of war prosecuted under the laws of the Detaining Power for acts committed prior to capture shall retain, even if convicted, the benefits of the present convention." It is true that the Soviet Union and other Communist powers, including North Vietnam, have filed a reservation to this clause to the effect that prisoner of war rights may be denied "to prisoners of war who have been convicted . . . in accordance with the principles of the Nuremberg trial for war crimes and crimes against humanity," but this reservation does not justify the denial of rights to captives who are simply labeled "war criminals" without trial. The question whether the Americans in North Vietnamese hands are in fact war criminals is a complex one, one which only a trial conducted by an impartial judiciary in an impartial atmosphere could hope to resolve. The North Vietnamese threaten to undo the great progress that has been made over the last two hundred years in the protection of the rights of prisoners of war. Specific steps must be taken, therefore, to minimize this threat to the humane treatment of war captives.

1371
Salter, Leonard M. THE PATH FROM VIOLENCE TO INTERNATIONAL ORDER. Philadelphia, Dorrance [1970] 165 p. JX1395.S27
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--How to develop world peace through law.--American initiatives revisited: which is the myth, what is reality?--World law: gain or loss for the individual's rights?--Toward a supranational law: the Common Market experience.--Transnational business and international lawyers.--Potential threats to peace in next two decades.--Dimensions of the military metaphysic.--Coexistence or coextermination?--The profits of doom: the American economy in war.--America, the omnipotent?--Accomplishments and frustrations: the Geneva Conference on Peace Through World Law.--Remote deterrence: proxy wars in the third areas.--From Alamagordo to Armageddon: the path to oblivion.--Building a world community: international education.--"Creeping capitalism" comes to the Soviet Union.--The politics of survival.--Econosphere: the economics of one world.--Has the U.S. sabotaged peace efforts of the United Nations?--Prosperity without war: the example of Japan.

Advocates a world system of jurisprudence that would establish an international order under one law. Salter examines "some of the economic, historical, and behavioral reasons why man's narrow tribalism has prevented him from recognizing how dangerously--perhaps totally--obsolete this atti-

tude is." He concludes that there has been little progress toward a peaceful world order.

1372
THE SEARCH FOR WORLD ORDER: STUDIES BY STUDENTS AND COLLEAGUES OF QUINCY WRIGHT. Edited by Albert Lepawsky, Edward H. Buehrig [and] Harold D. Lasswell. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts [1971] xx, 451 p. illus. JX1395.S362

Contents.--Concerning Quincy Wright, by Albert Lepawsky.--pt. 1. War and peace: War in our time, by Arnold J. Toynbee. A framework for a theory of war and peace, by Karl W. Deutsch and Dieter Senghaas. Modern international war: from conjecture to explanation, by J. David Singer. Military technology and international strategy, by Bernard Brodie. The sociology of strategic thinking, by Morton A. Kaplan. Settlement of disputes through nonamicable means, by William L. Tung. Peace thinking, by Johan Galtung.--pt. 2. International law and organization: The development of a universal international law, by R. P. Anand. The international definition and protection of human rights, by Percy E. Corbett. Violations of human rights as threats to peace, by Vernon Van Dyke. Untried potentials of the international court of justice, by Philip C. Jessup. The limited significance of the prohibition of war, by Bert V. A. Röling. Some legal aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict of 1967, by Majid Khadduri. A charter dilemma: order versus change, by Edward H. Buehrig.--pt. 3. National politics and international relations: National politics and international politics, by Gabriel A. Almond. Treaty relations: an Iranian-Soviet case study, by Rouhollah K. Ramazani. The neuroses of the nations, by Frederick L. Schuman. The American Presidency in the nuclear age, by Arthur N. Holcombe. United Nations assistance for political development: a rationale, by Walter H. C. Laves.--pt. 4. The study of international relations: The trend toward world community: an inventory of issues, by Richard A. Falk. Field theory and system theory in international relations, by Charles A. McClelland. The study of "relations" in international relations, by William T. R. Fox. Transnational phenomena and the future of the nation-state, by Klaus Knorr. The cross-disciplinary manifold: the Chicago prototype, by Harold D. Lasswell. International policy in war and peace: Wright's contribution, by Kenneth W. Thompson.--A select bibliography of the writings of Quincy Wright.

Essays dealing with international law and the study of international affairs published in tribute to Quincy Wright. Lepawsky's introduction hails Wright as a man who was at once an objective, scholarly social scientist and an active agent of social change as an advocate of a more humane international society. An underlying theme of the essays is "the evolving relationships--legal, political, organizational--between the nation-state and the international community."

1373
Todd, James E. THE "LAW-MAKING" BEHAVIOR OF STATES IN THE UNITED NATIONS AS A FUNCTION OF THEIR LOCATION WITHIN FORMAL WORLD REGIONS. International studies quarterly, v. 15, Sept. 1971: 297-315. illus. D839.B2, v. 15

Assesses empirically the assumption that international law reflects the structure of the international system and the interests of the big powers by examining decisionmaking in the Sixth (Legal) Committee of the United Nations General Assembly. Todd's data analysis indicates "that a state's location within world regions as defined by shared attributes of political alignment, economic development, and political development has considerable predictive potency when applied to the legal dimension of the international behavioral system. Western political alignment and high economic and political development are all clearly associated with a conservative orientation toward international law."

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

1374
Alexander, Raymond P. REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE FIFTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW CENTER AND THE WORLD ASSEMBLY OF JUDGES. New York State Bar Journal, v. 44, Pt. I: Jan. 1972: 19-26; Pt. II: Feb. 1972: 75-83. LL

Reviews briefly the history of the World Peace Through Law Center and Winston Churchill's challenge urging the lawyers of the world to be builders of peace. Alexander focuses on three of the 21 major issues discussed at the 1971 World Peace Through Law Conference in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, "Strengthening the United Nation's International Courts, The Individual and His Rights and Responsibilities, and The World Court System Plan." Part two describes the International (Mock) Trial of a case involving an American space vehicle manufactured in Japan falling in Yugoslavia and causing the death of two Ethiopians and a businessman from Venezuela as well as considerable property damage. Alexander concludes by commenting that lawyers must increase their social awareness and realize their obligations to mankind and the service they can give to the world.

1375
Böhm, Anton. [CHINA AND THE CONSEQUENCES. WHAT WILL BECOME OF THE UNITED NATIONS?] China und die Folgen. Was wird aus den Vereinten Nationen? Politische Meinung, v. 16, Nov./Dec. 1971: 7-10. H5.P75, v. 16

The U.N. General Assembly vote to seat Communist China and to expel Nationalist China points up the fact that the United States suffered a major diplomatic defeat, that legal principles were abandoned in an irreverent display of the power of the majority, and that a dangerous precedent has been set in seating but one of the contending delegations from a divided state. The General Assem-

bly's action augurs ill for the "white" minority in the United Nations and could result in splitting that body. Those who see in the American U.N. reversal a sign of weakness err, for that weakness is not of a real and lasting nature. It is to the credit of the United States that it did not turn its back on the United Nations and deny aid and development funds. "Only the power potential of America, properly engaged, can save the United Nations from being degraded into an instrument of international class struggle and from foundering."

1376
Borgese, Elisabeth M. THE WORLD COMMUNITIES. Center magazine, v. 4, Sept./Oct. 1971: 10-18. illus. N&CPR

Outlines plans for a world government based on five or six interlocking world communities dealing with transnational issues like earth resources and communications and having functional or service-oriented participational assemblies. Borgese thinks that some world communities are already in existence and that for their integration into the world system "a departure from the three-century-old notion of the nation-state as sole actor in international affairs" is necessary. She argues that in a community-based polyvalent federalism wars and arms races will have no place, noting that a war between the world communities is unreal "since everybody belongs to every community." The new world system will contain a declaration "in which the concept of human rights will have evolved to comprehend a new type of transindividual environmental rights," establish that earth, water, air, and energy are the common property of all mankind, and maintain a peace force to control zones and perform social work to alleviate and resolve causes of conflict. Borgese concludes that although academic plans alone will not alter the present shape of the international community, for which direct action is needed, change must be planned and projected in terms of theoretical models and exercises.

1377
Chalfont, Arthur Gwynne Jones, baron. THE UNITED NATIONS--THE END OF AN ERA? New Middle East, no. 39, Dec. 1971: 4-7. illus. DS63.1.N48, 1971

Doubts about the survival of the United Nations are justified because, as demonstrated by the Secretary-General's report, the record is "a dismal catalogue of frustrations and disappointments." Particularly in the disarmament area no substantial progress has been made. The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty are hailed as landmarks, but in reality they have had little influence on disarmament since the French and Chinese continue atmospheric testing, while the superpowers do more nuclear testing than ever, but now do it underground. Other U.N. failures include its unrewarded contributions to the developing nations and its peacekeeping and dispute-settling efforts which have been largely unsuccessful. These frustrations occur against a framework of financial deterioration and reliance primarily on American monetary aid. The United Nations, if it survives, will not display the traditional alinements, for Communist China will provide strong leadership for Third World countries. Its failures may make the United Nations seem a forlorn hope, but it is "almost certainly the only hope."

1378
Feld, Werner. NONGOVERNMENTAL ENTITIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM: A PRELIMINARY QUANTITATIVE OVERVIEW. Orbis, v. 15, fall 1971: 879-922. illus. D839.068, v. 15

"This article is a revised version of a paper presented at the 1970 convention of the American Political Science Association."

"Examine[s] the actual and potential impact of nongovernmental entities on the international system through the presentation of selected statistical data." Nongovernmental entities comprise regional organizations like the Union of European Industries, multinational corporations and transnational joint business ventures, and, sometimes, political parties. Feld asserts that these entities are important actors in the international political community in view of the spreading network of multinational operations and their powerful tools for social and economic development. He concludes that although gaps in the statistical data preclude definitive conclusions on the important role of nongovernment organizations, additional data will furnish new empirical bases for future theoretical exercises and models.

1379
Jacobsen, Kurt. REPRESENTATION AT THE UNITED NATIONS. Bulletin of peace proposals, v. 2, no. 4, 1971: 383-384. JX1901.B83, v. 2

"The voting data utilized in this work were made available by the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research."

The United Nations needs to be made into a more effective instrument, especially for the less powerful states. Many of these frequently absented themselves from all U.N. organs because of delegate manpower shortages, increasing the influence of states with ample delegations. The United Nations should not be just a body for resolving conflicts, but also an arena for airing conflicts and honing diplomatic skills. By refunding the expenses of small, functional delegations and permanent missions, the United Nations would provide a strong incentive for small states to conduct a larger part of their international dealings through the United Nations.

1380
Kim, Chŏng-kŏn. RED CHINA MEMBERSHIP QUESTION AND THE NON-MEMBER STATES. Korea journal, v. 11, Sept. 1971: 10-15, 31. DS901.K7, v. 11

The manner in which Communist China is admitted to the United Nations could provide a precedent for the admission of divided nations. When all facets of the arguments, pro and con, for the admission of the Peking regime have been considered, examination of the legal and political difficulties in altering in any way the status of the Republic of China indicates that "the world will have stepped backwards." As long as international legality is determined by politics and national interest, "it is essential that a country like Korea be prepared in the future to face the unpredictable climate and uncertain course of the United Nations." The United Nations has been so intimately involved in the development of the international status of the Republic of Korea, which it recognizes as the only legitimate Korean Government, that it cannot adopt a new standard--for example, admitting both the South and North Korean Governments as separate entities--without repudiating all previous commitments and resolutions.

1381
MEMORANDUM OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC. GDR review, v. 16, Dec. 1971. DD261.G2, v. 16
Article is an unpaged insert dated August 1971.

Significant passages in the English language from a Memorandum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) circulated through diplomatic channels to more than 100 member states of the United Nations and to specialized U.N. agencies and other world organizations. The Memorandum lists reasons why the GDR should become an equal member of the United Nations and why other states should establish diplomatic relations with the GDR.

1382
Pelowski, Allan L. ON THE USE OF A QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN IN THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND WAR. Journal of peace research, v. 8, nos. 3/4, 1971: 279-285. illus. AS9.J6, v. 8

Using a quasi-experimental method Pelowski tests hypotheses regarding the abrupt changes in the international system occurring around the two world wars, examining specifically trade, alliances, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations. He concludes that the quasi-experimental method demonstrates that nonrandom changes in the system have occurred and that the percent of all nations in defensive alliances and the net number of new international organizations formed are "significantly more sensitive to the occurrence of wars" than is trade among nations.

1383
REFUTING Y. A. MALIK, by "Renmin Ribao" commentator. Peking review, v. 15, Jan. 21, 1972: 5-6. DS701.P42, v. 15

Soviet U.N. representative Malik's January 6, 1972 radio speech was a clumsy attempt to hide the reverses dealt Soviet social imperialism at the U.N. General Assembly's 26th Session. Far from championing peace and progress, as Malik claims, the Soviet Union openly aided the Indian reactionaries' aggression against East Pakistan. To shore up the revisionists' position in the United Nations, Malik futilely accused the Chinese delegation of opposing disarmament and a Middle East settlement. The Chinese delegation prodded the Soviet delegation to pledge never to use nuclear weapons first and to abandon its foreign nuclear bases, but these sham disarmers dared not answer. That product of superpower collusion, the treaty banning bacteriological weapons of which Malik is so proud, omits chemical weapons, permitting superpower possession of these agents used so freely against the Vietnamese people, and does not prohibit the use of biological weapons. China has always supported the just cause of the Palestinian and Arab peoples while opposing the revisionist scheme of carving the Middle East into spheres of influence. Malik attacked the Chinese delegation because of its efforts on behalf of peaceloving and oppressed nations and peoples.

1384
Riggs, Robert E. US/UN: FOREIGN POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts [1971] 347 p. JX1977.2.U5R52
Bibliography: p. 323-329.

Contents.--Introduction: The United Nations: a foreign policy perspective.--pt. 1. Power: Legitimization in the cold war, 1946-1954. Legitimization in decline and transition. Negotiation with Communist rivals. Peace and security in the noncommunist world.--pt. 2. Welfare: legitimization and negotiation in economic and social cooperation. Social and economic cooperation: the material support function.--pt. 3. Community: National interest and community institutions. National interest and international community.--Appendix: A second look at the research framework. --Glossary: UN-related agencies mentioned in the text.--Bibliography.--Index.

Examines the United Nations as a foreign-policy instrument of the United States. "At the broadest level of generality, the study asks and attempts to answer three questions: 1) How (through what issues, strategies, objectives) has the United States attempted to use the United Nations as an instrument of its national policy? 2) What have been the effects (in terms of UN internal processes as well as external impact) of using the United Nations? 3) To what extent has the national interest (both short-run and long-run) been served by such action?" Riggs finds that the United States has used the United Nations to aid the negotiation process, legitimize U.S. policy, and mobilize material support (both resources and personnel) in the support of policy. He concludes that although the United Nations is less respon-

sive to U.S. desires than in the past the organization's usefulness has not diminished.

1385
Rochester, J. Martin. DYADIC (TWO-PARTY) DISPUTES BEFORE THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE, THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE, THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, AND THE UNITED NATIONS: ANALYTICAL AND EMPIRICAL MATERIALS. [Chicago] Markham Pub. Co. [1971] 63 l. (Learning packages in international relations, 3)
JX1963.R66
Bibliography: leaves 15-16.

Contents.--Preface.--pt. 1. Studying the PCIJ, ICJ, League and UN through use of the data: Analysis activities. Sample analysis. Bibliography. --pt. 2. Handbook of data collected for dyadic disputes involving the PCIJ, ICJ, League, and UN: variable description and raw data: Description of the data. Table of cases. Listing of the data.

Uses empirical data "to test various ideas found in the scholarly literature concerning international conflict and its control through international institutions." In addition to a list of 121 disputes mediated through the four institutions, a relevant bibliography and suggestions on the kinds of analyses that might be employed are presented.

1386
Seidl-Hohenveldern, Ignaz. [THE LAW OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS INCLUDING SUPRANATIONAL COMMUNITIES] Das Recht der internationalen Organisationen einschliesslich der supranationalen Gemeinschaften. 2. verm. Aufl., Köln, C. Heymann [1971] xxxviii, 361 p. (Academia iuris)
JX1995.S39 1971

Partial contents.--Underlying principles.--Organizational development of international organizations.--The functioning of an international organization.--The substantive tasks of individual organizations.

Textbook for the study of the growing body of international organizational law that has developed as a companion discipline to interstate law under the aegis of international law.

1387
Singh, Biswanath. SOME PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE FORCES. Australian journal of politics and history, v. 17, Aug. 1971: 175-187.
DU80.A945, v. 17

Since the United Nations was not intended to be a world superstate, the establishment of a permanent international military force under its aegis was not considered. The U.N. Charter respects the reality of power by the great-power veto in the Security Council which effectively blocks implementation of the principle of collective security against a great power. International peace forces are construed, therefore, as ad hoc armed forces used chiefly against small powers in marginal situations like the Suez and Congo crises. In the debate over who should pay for peace force operations, arguments have been presented for collective responsibility or for payment by the "aggressors," the permanent Security Council members, "the countries profiting economically," or "the rich countries." The General Assembly accepted the 1961 International Court of Justice ruling that "these expenses were incurred in carrying out the purposes of the organization" and are obligatory even on those members who opposed the peacekeeping operation. The crux of the U.N. financial crisis was the clash of political interests involving the "determination of some big powers to retain their veto," if not a political veto in the Security Council, then a financial veto. In the future members are likely to pay only for those peacekeeping operations which are clearly in their national interest.

1388
Tandon, Yash. [THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY IN A PHASE OF CONSOLIDATION] Die Organisation der Afrikanischen Einheit in einer Phase der Konsolidierung. Europa-Archiv, v. 26, Dec. 10, 1971: 835-842.
D839.E86, v. 26

Reviews the 1971 developments in the Organization of African Unity (OAU), citing in particular the confrontation over the establishment of a dialog with South Africa, the refusal of the OAU to seat representatives of the new Ugandan military regime, and a move to change membership requirements. The Houphouet-Boigny plan for initiating a dialog with South Africa was roundly defeated at the OAU summit conference, thus strengthening the 1969 Lusaka declaration against South Africa. Tanzania's opposition to seating the Ugandan delegation, a motion later withdrawn, brought up the question of membership criteria. For unity's sake, Tandon points out, the OAU tabled the question altogether. He concludes that in all important questions decided by the 1971 summit conference the voices of moderation prevailed so that no organizational split occurred.

1389
Thant, U. THE ROLE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL. UN monthly chronicle, v. 8, Oct. 1971: 178-187.
JX1977.A1U564, v. 8
"Address . . . by the Secretary-General . . . at the annual luncheon of the Dag Hammarskjöld Memorial Scholarship Fund of the United Nations Correspondents Association held on 16 September 1971."
Also appears in a "slightly excerpted" version as "The Role of the Secretary-General: a 'Thrilling' and 'Frustrating' Job," in War/Peace Report, v. 11, Nov. 1971: 6-10.
JX1901.W38, v. 11

The office of Secretary-General has gone beyond the general duties outlined in the U.N. Charter in

accordance with the political possibilities of the times. Every Secretary-General must maintain a genuine feeling for humanity and a strong sense of political realism, which means working to fulfill the Charter, but working with and through the sovereign states which are the basic reality of the international order. His position is not comparable to that of the head of a government. Every Secretary-General has had to slight the more-than-full-time job of U.N. administrative head. In his political role, the Secretary-General is obliged to stand by the decisions of the United Nations' main organs, regardless of personal beliefs. The Secretary-General is obliged further by article 99 to bring important matters to the attention of the Security Council. An extremely important function is the exercise of his good offices in the settlement of disputes. "This quiet method of forestalling conflict seems to me to be a part of the Secretary-General's role which should be continuously developed as an alternative to the specific--and much more dramatic--invocation of Article 99." Establishment of permanent missions in New York, a largely unrecognized but significant factor in multinational diplomacy, greatly facilitates the Secretary-General's political work. The Secretary-General should draw attention to other than political or military threats to the human community--overpopulation, worldwide pollution, national disasters and catastrophes. The Secretary-General and the United Nations also serve as a scapegoat for tangled problems that members themselves are unwilling or unable to approach. The Secretary-General should always be willing to take an initiative in truly dangerous and serious situations.

1390
THE UNITED NATIONS IN A DIVIDED WORLD. Center magazine, v. 5, Jan./Feb. 1972: 19-25. illus.
N&CPR

A discussion between Mary Kersey Harvey and Arvid Pardo ranging over a variety of topics in international politics, law, and organization. The declining efficacy of treaties, especially collective security treaties, as a means of dealing with world problems; dysfunctional aspects of the nation-state order; the prerequisites of arms control and the outlook for progress in this field, under U.N. auspices or otherwise; the advisability of trying to equip the United Nations with genuinely effective enforcement machinery; the weaknesses of international law; the impact of science and technology on the nation-state system; and the structural reform of the United Nations are among the matters discussed. According to Pardo, there can be no arms control until the underlying conditions of international life--and this means above all else the nation-state system--have been changed for the better. The United Nations, which has lost all effectiveness in security matters, having become little more than a debating society with no influence or prestige worth considering, conceivably might play a significant role in fostering international cooperation for the control of technology, which is another prerequisite of arms control; but in fact the United Nations is as ineffectual in dealing with functional questions as it is in the security field.

1391
U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements. THE UNITED NATIONS AT THE CROSSROADS; REPORT ON THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970. 12 p. KF32.F655 1970
At head of title: [Committee print]
Based in large part on its hearings published under title: The 25th anniversary of the United Nations.

Partial contents.--United States participation in the United Nations. The United Nations system.

Recommendations concerning the future role of the United Nations. The subcommittee found that the United Nations is not at present equipped to cope with the problems that will challenge the international community in the coming decades. Its recommendations include strengthening the United Nations' role in guaranteeing human rights, conserving and developing the environment and the seabeds, peacekeeping, disarmament, and social and economic affairs.

1392
U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements. UNITED STATES ROLE IN THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM; hearings on Recommendations of the President's Commission for the Observance of the 25th Anniversary of the U.N. (Lodge Commission); and the UNA-USA Policy Panel on the U.N. (Katzenbach Commission). Hearings, Ninety-second Congress, first session. October 13 and 14, 1971. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 85 p. KF27.F648 1971c
Supt. of Docs. no.: Y4.F76/1:Un.34/15.

Consideration of two commission reports dealing with the place of the United States in the United Nations, focusing on specific problems--the place of China, the United Nations' financial difficulties, peacekeeping and disaster relief, and the role of the U.N. Economic and Social Council. Henry Cabot Lodge, chairman of one of the commissions, expressed his fear that the United Nations is "very nearly atrophied now in some respects," for "you could not possibly get a two-thirds vote for anything that is innovative or constructive."

1393
Wagner, David G. THE DILEMMA OF VOTING IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. SAIS review, v. 16, fall 1971: 12-24. D839.S35, v. 16

The one-nation-one-vote principle in the United Nations has been especially criticized by Americans affronted by the discrepancy between their nation's power and the value of its vote. The purpose of a weighted voting system is to mirror

the actual distribution of global political power. The vagueness of the concept "political power" defies quantification, so weighted voting formulas have utilized factors to which numerical values can easily be assigned. Population schemes are frequently proposed, but population by itself is a woefully inaccurate means of gauging national power. Granting voting rights in proportion to financial contributions amounts to buying votes, and other economic measurements could be difficult to determine fairly and without controversy. Other criteria to measure accurately national power, literacy for example, raise more problems of objective quantification than population and economic factors. Any system devised is likely to be unacceptable to some states. The only solution seems to be retention of the existing voting setup, for, in any event, "the United States has been able, by astute parliamentary diplomacy, to minimize very effectively the number of General Assembly decisions unfavorable to its interests, and there is no reason why it cannot continue to do so."

1394
Wendte, Michael. [PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND THE UNITED NATIONS] Die friedliche Koexistenz und die Vereinten Nationen. [Köln, 1971?] 131 p.
JX1952.W45

Inaug.-Diss.--Cologne.
Vita.
Bibliography: p. i-x.

Contents.--pt. 1. Coexistence in international law until its treatment by the United Nations. The work method of the United Nations.--pt. 2. Committee work on the seven principles of coexistence.--pt. 3. The significance of formulations elaborated for international law.

Study of the definition and significance of peaceful coexistence in international law and international organization, focusing in particular on the elaboration and formulation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in the United Nations.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY FORCES

1395
CHEN CHU EXPLAINS AT SECURITY COUNCIL CHINA'S STAND ON QUESTION OF STATIONING IN CYPRUS OF UNITED NATIONS FORCE. In U.S. Consulate General, Hong Kong. Survey of China mainland press, no. 5041, Dec. 27, 1971: 43-44.
Micro 01327

Hsin hua t'ung hsün shê (New China News Agency) release, English, United Nations, Dec. 13, 1971.
DS777.55.H656, 1971

Chen Chu, China's U.N. Security Council representative, refrained from voting on the December 13, 1971, resolution extending the U.N. peacekeeping force in Cyprus for another six months. Chen explained the opinion of the Chinese delegation that the Cyprus question is a matter "left over by imperialist colonial rule" and "should be settled in a reasonable way by the countries concerned through consultation on an equal footing." China's position on the presence of U.N. forces is well known and forbids Chinese participation in the vote. The Chinese Government supports the Cypriots in the maintenance of their sovereign national independence and hopes that the Greek and Turkish communities will live with each other in peace and equality.

1396
Harbottle, Michael N. THE IMPARTIAL SOLDIER. London, New York, Oxford University Press, 1970. 210 p. illus.
LL
E/TREAT/HARB

"Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs."
Bibliography: p. [201].

Contents.--Foreword, by the director of Chatham House [K. G. Younger].--Author's preface.--Arrival--thoughts on the task ahead.--Events leading to the establishment of the force.--UN procedures for establishing the force.--Organization and deployment of the force.--UN peace-keeping--the use of force.--Situation at 8 June 1966--flashback summary.--The Green Line.--Nicosia west and east. --Famagusta Zone 1966.--Limassol Zone--Kophinou 1964-7.--Paphos murders, August 1967.--Confrontation--Kyrenia and Lefka.--Logistics and communications.--Ayios Theodhoros/Kophinou, 15 November 1967.--The aftermath of Ayios Theodhoros.--Grivas--his influence on events.--UNCIVPOL--a success story.--UNFICYP and the United Kingdom.--Conclusions and summing up.--Select bibliography.--Maps.--Index.

Recounts the author's experiences as Chief of Staff of the United Nations Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) from June 1966 to August 1968. Brigadier Harbottle rates the "novel and experimental departure from usual practice" of attaching a multinational civilian police component (UNCIVPOL) to UNFICYP as "one of the unqualified successes of the whole Cyprus operation." He believes "that the success of a peace-keeping operation depends more than anything else on the vigilance and mental alertness of the most junior soldier and his young non-commissioned leader," because it is at their level that most of the problems requiring immediate response occur.

OTHER MEANS

1397
Bull, Hedley. ORDER VS. JUSTICE IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY. Political studies, v. 19, Sept. 1971: 269-283.
JA1.P63, v. 19

"Paper delivered to the Annual Conference of the P.S.A. at Birmingham, March, 1971."

The pronounced tendency among the Western powers to attach more concern to order than to justice is

in contradistinction to the Third World states that generally subordinate order to justice. The framework of international order is inhospitable to proposals for the enhancement of human justice, although it regards international justice favorably. The latter is, however, more dependent on rules than on moral standards. The question is then whether justice in world politics can be achieved without undermining international order. The conservative doctrine replies that a conflict between the two is inherent and that order must take priority. The revolutionary doctrine likewise recognizes the inherence of the conflict but assigns priority to justice. The liberal view which dominates current foreign policy thinking in the West is that a conflict between the two is not necessary and that if one should occur a reconciliation process takes over. Whatever the qualifications, a strong argument can still be made for the priority of international order, but not always in individual cases. Yet a strong international order can withstand "assaults carried out in the name of justice," for has not the nuclear peace "made the world safe for just wars of national liberation . . . and the international or interstate peace [made it safe] for just internal or civil violence[?]"

1398
Calian, Carnegie S. WORLD RELIGIONS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. Religion in life, v. 40, winter 1971: 500-509. BR1.R28, v. 40

"This article is adapted from a chapter in his latest book, Grace, Guts, and Goods: How to Stay Christian in an Affluent Society," 1971. BR121.2.C23

The influence of the commitment to religion on world conflict has not been realistically estimated, nor has its importance, for "religious crises reflect the grass-roots sentiments of countless persons and thus influence international issues." While theological involvement is declining in Europe, it is increasing in Africa and Asia. Even as religion may be a source of conflict, so it may also suggest a strategy for peace through interfaith solidarity. The spirit of ecumenism now drawing the world's religions together may stimulate human sympathies that ignore political boundaries to bring people together.

1399
Eckhardt, William. DRUGS, PEACE, AND FREEDOM. Journal of human relations, v. 19, 3d quarter, 1971: 311-318. H1.J55, v. 19

Reports the results of a survey to determine whether a correlation exists between attitudes toward the use of drugs and attitudes toward peace, defined operationally on a pacifism versus militarism scale, and freedom, similarly defined in terms of personal independence versus conformity. The results of an independent survey of drug use are also reported. The surveys indicate that a significant correlation does exist between favorable attitudes toward the use of marijuana, LSD, and mescaline and favorable attitudes toward peace and freedom as defined, persons sharing these views being "generally nonconformist in their personality traits and radical in their ideological attitudes." Eckhardt concludes from these results that "marijuana use, and favorable attitudes toward marijuana, LSD, and mescaline, are generally on the side of peace and freedom in the world today."

1400
Galtung, Johan. WHAT IS A GOOD PEACE PROPOSAL? Bulletin of peace proposals, v. 2, no. 4, 1971: 291-294. JX1901.B83, v. 2

Most peace proposals fall short of their mark by failing to identify who should effect the proposal, why it should be carried out, and when and where it should commence. "In other words, what is missing is the actor-designation, a clear image of the transition path, including the first steps, and some type of idea of the concrete context involved." Of these three aspects, the focus is the actor-designation, who must be identified by potential motivation and potential capability for either unbalancing unstable equilibria or assisting positive trends. However, because certain groupings in society can be forces for beneficial change, it should not be assumed that other groupings are the enemies of peace. A malfunctioning social structure, not people, is the proper target of a peace proposal. Good peace proposals will appear when social scientists and peace researchers adopt more goal-oriented values.

1401
Howard, Nigel. PARADOXES OF RATIONALITY: THEORY OF METAGAMES AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR. Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press [1971] xxiii, 248 p. illus. (The Peace research studies series, 1)
JA23.H67
Bibliography: p. [241]-244.

Contents.--Foreword, by Walter Isard.--Preface.--Introductory.--The breakdown of rationality.--Metagames and metarationality.--The theory of metarational outcomes.--Further developments in metarationality theory.--Knowledge of others' preferences.--Appendixes.--Glossary of technical terms.--References.--Index.

Development of the metagame concept and new approaches to rationality in matters of conflict management and resolution. Using a nonquantitative approach, Howard develops new concepts of rationality increasing the value of the application of game theory to concrete problems. "His development of illustrations based on simplified models of real conflict, such as the Cuban missile crisis, the U.S.-Soviet confrontation, make a better appreciation of the possibilities of the metagame approach," Isard's foreword states, adding that this approach makes a real contribution to the effective analysis of real world problems.

1402
Moulton, Phillips P. VIOLENCE--OR AGGRESSIVE NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE? [Wallingford, Pa., Pendle Hill Publications, 1971] 31 p. (Pendle Hill pamphlet, 178) HM291.M68
Bibliography: p. 30-31.

Proposes large-scale research into nonviolent alternatives to national military defense and concludes that a national policy of aggressive nonviolent resistance could replace military defense and end the arms race. Moulton discusses the causes, benefits and evils of violence. He thinks violence a less satisfactory and effective way to handle conflict than a policy of aggressive nonviolent resistance.

1403
Paulus VI, Pope. PEACE AND JUSTICE IN THE WORLD: THE CHURCH'S CONTRIBUTION. Vital speeches of the day, v. 37, Feb. 15, 1972: 258-260.
PN6121.V52, v. 37
"Delivered before the Diplomatic Corps, Rome, Italy, January 10, 1972."

Presents the church role in civil affairs and social problems. The Pope asserts that the church, while it does not participate in political activity, still is "obliged to make her own contribution to the realization in the world of peace in justice and justice in peace." This theme will dominate his message for the celebration of the fifth World Day of Peace. Pope Paul laments the arms race which he sees as increasing steadily at a time when, ironically, the people of the world are beginning to feel a new kinship with each other. Economic arguments for arms manufacture cannot stand; "how can it be admitted that there is no way of finding work for hundreds of thousands of workers other than setting them to making instruments of death?" Peace in justice cannot be reached by a balance of armed forces, or by mutual deterrence, but only through a plan of progressive disarmament.

1404
Rogers, Rita M. CAN PSYCHIATRY CONTRIBUTE TO INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION? Comprehensive psychiatry, v. 12, Nov. 1971: 511-519.
RC321.C6, v. 12

Considers how psychiatrists in their professional capacities can contribute to an understanding of the causes of violence and the prerequisites to international conciliation. Rogers cautions the psychiatrist interested in war and peace that these issues must be approached in a scientific, unmissionary-like spirit. Certain of the realities of international politics must be accepted as givens, specifically, the existence of disharmonies of interest among nations, and human ignorance vis-a-vis the question of how to make and preserve peace. With these considerations firmly in mind, the psychiatrist can make important contributions to the study of national character, violence and its causes, the behavior of men in groups, decisionmaking, political systems and institutions, and other matters of relevance to the problems of peacemaking.

1405
Targ, Harry R. SOCIAL SCIENCE AND A NEW SOCIAL ORDER. Journal of peace research, v. 8, nos. 3/4, 1971: 207-220. AS9.J6, v. 8
"This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, September 7-11, 1971."

The material has sought to highlight the crisis in social science and indeed in academia. The emphasis upon descriptive, explanatory, and predictive theory in social science to the conscious exclusion of prescriptive normative theory has been perceived by many as a tacit approval of the present. Given the tensions and conflicts in most industrialized societies, it was argued, social science could play a positive role in the thrust towards viable social change by articulating, with social scientific skills, new social orders from which citizens could select the most appealing. Finally, a brief proposal for a new social order was articulated with mention of central assumptions underlying the plan and strategies to bring the new society about. It would be a society composed of semi-autonomous communities, participatory democracy, socialism, and sophisticated decentralized technologies. The social order scheme was presented, not to create a new dogma, but to start controversy and debate within the parameters of a social science committed to social change. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1406
Verwey, Wil D. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, PEACE, AND INTERNATIONAL LAW: A NEW APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF INTERVENTION. Bulletin of peace proposals, v. 2, no. 4, 1971: 372-382.
JX1901.B83, v. 2

World poverty contributes to international instability. The desire for economic development has also added to international tension by kindling superpower competition for influence among the developing nations. The chief motive behind the predominantly bilateral aid programs of the United States, the Soviet Union, and China has been the furtherance of the donors' political interests. The overall effect of these competing programs in the cold war setting has been waste, inefficiency, and scant long-term benefit to the recipients. Economic intervention in the affairs of a nation is as detrimental to its sovereignty and well-being as political or military intervention. It is not enough for international law to forbid intervention; means must be found to prevent it. "To prevent intervention, we should rather remove the cradle of that practice, we should take away the occasion to intervene," which is poverty and the undeveloped condition of many nations. Needed is a coordinated, continuing,

global, economic development strategy, with assistance channeled through a world body like the United Nations.

1407
Washburn, A. Michael. PEACE EDUCATION IS ALIVE--BUT UNSURE OF ITSELF. War/peace report, v. 11, Nov. 1971: 14-18. illus.
JX1901.W38, v. 11

Because peace education lacks substantial financial backing or proponents of significant stature, it must rely on its own intellectual force and logical strength. The present outlook for peace education is discouraging. "It simply does not yet have the unity, clarity and forcefulness of vision to take on the academic foreign policy/international relations establishment issue by issue, research design by research design, recommendation by recommendation and come out ahead." The movement toward peace education is part of the trend toward socially relevant courses engendered by Vietnam, student unrest, and the upheaval of the 1960's. Funds, staff, and teaching materials are scarce and agreement on course design is nonexistent. "In this age of high-flying fads, I would estimate that peace education has less than five years to get itself together." Several main approaches to peace education are oriented toward traditional international politics, world order, nonviolence, and conflict resolution. Futurism, radical social science, the counterculture movement, and the general democratization of academia are also influencing peace education. A peace curriculum must be devised from the ground up, and some schools have already made strong beginnings. "Ultimately, peace education is nothing unless it is credible." Its objective must be to change the world and peace educators must show, as they are not now doing, that they comprehend the magnitude of the problem before them.

1408
Yalem, Ronald J. CONTROLLED COMMUNICATION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION. Journal of peace research, v. 8, nos. 3/4, 1971: 263-272.
AS9.J6, v. 8

". . . financial support for this study provided by the Research Grants Committee of the University of Alabama."

The development of the procedure of controlled communication by Professor John Burton at the Centre for the Analysis of Conflict at the University of London is an attempt to utilize insights and findings drawn from social casework for application to states in international conflict. It rests upon the assumption that a new approach to the analysis and resolution of international conflict is needed, since traditional techniques have become obsolete and irrelevant to the needs of nation-states. On the basis of a critical examination of the report of findings derived from the application of controlled communication to two ongoing conflicts, it was found that this new approach has only been successful in altering attitudes and perceptions of subordinate governmental officials and has not been applied to key decision-makers of states in conflict. It has not led to the resolution of any international conflict. At best, controlled communication may be a useful device in supplementing preexisting conflict resolution procedures, not in replacing them. (Abstract supplied)

ARMS CONTROL: GENERAL DISCUSSION

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1409
Berg, Meredith W. ADMIRAL WILLIAM H. STANDLEY AND THE SECOND LONDON NAVAL TREATY, 1934-1936. Historian, v. 33, Feb. 1971: 215-236.
D1.H217, v. 33

Describes the "not so well known" negotiations leading up to the 1936 London Naval Treaty and the role played by Admiral William H. Standley, Chief of Naval Operations and U.S. naval representative at the London talks. Berg feels that Admiral Standley's contribution, "a primary reason for the qualified success of the second London Naval Conference," was his facilitation of communication among the delegates because of his honest and reasonable personality, together with his ability to distinguish between secondary and primary considerations of national security policy, and compromising on the former to obtain continued naval limitation.

1410
Burns, Richard Dean, and Donald Urquidi. WOODROW WILSON AND DISARMAMENT: IDEAS VS REALITIES. Aerospace historian, v. 18, winter 1971: 186-194. illus. UG633.A1A515, v. 18

"This essay is drawn from a study prepared for the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency entitled Disarmament in Perspective: An Analysis of Selected Disarmament and Arms Control Agreements between World Wars, 1919-1939 (4 vols.; 1968, ACDA Report No. RS-55)."

Illustrates through a study of Woodrow Wilson's pioneering advocacy of disarmament the distance between the conceptualization of disarmament as desirable and its actual implementation in world politics. The authors conclude that "there can be little doubt that Woodrow Wilson was intellectually and emotionally committed to the 'ideal' of disarmament, yet, despite this conviction, his deeds implied that disarmament held a low priority in his overall concept of the new international order." This pattern of attitude and behavior is observable in the Peace Conference where Wilson urged the Allies and Germany to agree to the principles of disarmament, but shied away from operational negotiations that might interfere with what he perceived as higher priority issues, including legal aspects of national sovereignty and the threat of Bolshevism. Burns and Urquidi present detailed evidence from analysis of the lengthy postwar negotiations in support of their thesis. They emphasize, however, that Wilson's success in persuading the nations even to articulate commitment to the principles of disarmament was a major achievement.

1411
Delmas, Claude. [SALT: STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS] SALT: pourparlers sur la limitation des armements stratégiques. Informations & documents, no. 307, June 1, 1971: 4-9. illus.
N&CPR

Traces the nuclear policies and programs of the superpowers that set the stage for the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. Delmas discusses the Baruch Plan and the problems of inspection and verification, the doctrine of mutual vulnerability, the McMahon Act, and qualitative improvements in nuclear weaponry, emphasizing the multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle and its effect on the nuclear balance of power. He concludes that inspection is less a technical than a political problem and that the United States is ready to open its frontiers to international inspection and verification if the Soviet Union will do the same.

1412
Epstein, William. DISARMAMENT: TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF EFFORT. [Toronto] Canadian Institute of International Affairs [1971] 97 p. (Contemporary affairs, 45) JX1974.E65
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--The United Nations Charter.--Years of deadlock.--Basic problems of disarmament.--Years of achievement.--The role of the United Nations.--The current scene.--Perspective and conclusion.--Appendices.

Traces the history of arms control and disarmament developments over the past quarter century. Epstein points out that despite some important disarmament agreements in the last decade, world military expenditures escalated from $120 billion in 1962 to $200 billion in 1969. The appendices include the texts of the Nonproliferation Treaty, the Outer Space Treaty, and the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America.

1413
Hassner, Pierre. THE NEW EUROPE: FROM COLD WAR TO HOT PEACE. International journal, v. 27, winter 1971/72: 1-17. D839.I5, v. 27

Analyzes the balance of forces in Europe and calculates the likelihood of future stability giv-

en the diplomatic arrangements that are emerging. Hassner observes that flagging leadership and a revival of class struggle are reflected in the increased incidence of social conflict in both East and West. The level of conflict has retreated a step or two to a state Hassner terms a "hot peace," a mitigation of tension that is far from a peaceful solution. In his opinion the two sides might come eventually to a "'balance of vulnerability' analogous to the balance of terror, when one side's loss could not be considered the other side's gain."

1414
THOSE ARMS TALKS. Economist, v. 241, Dec. 4, 1971: 52-53. illus. HG11.E2, v. 241

Scans the progress of arms negotiations since 1961 touching on the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, mutual and balanced force reductions, the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, and other conferences as yet only proposed. "As the arms themselves multiply, so too, it seems, do the meetings of ministers and diplomats devoted to attempts to curb the arms race, or at least to talking about it."

1415
U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. DOCUMENTS ON DISARMAMENT 1970. Washington [For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970] 807 p. illus. DLC

Contents.--Foreword.--Topical list of documents.--List of abbreviations.--List of principal organizations and conferences.--Documents.--Chronological list of documents.--Bibliography.--List of persons.--Index.

Eleventh volume of a continuing series collecting basic documents on arms control and disarmament developments issued during 1970. The papers, which are printed chronologically, are preceded by a topical list of documents and followed by a chronological list.

GENERAL ANALYSES

1416
Barrett, Raymond J. THE HARD REALITIES OF ARMS CONTROL. Air Force magazine, v. 55, Feb. 1972: 47-49. UG633.A65, v. 55

In the search for a more peaceful world, the United States should ascribe high priority to arms control, but it should realize that arms control measures will neither simplify nor reduce the complexity of defense problems nor lead to any great savings in the defense budget. Arms control policy must always adopt a prudent approach to ensure national security. Deterrence, which is one means of guarding that security, requires credible second-strike forces and research and development to provide technologically up-to-date weapons and defenses. To be sure of protecting national security through arms control, constant verification of an opponent's adherence to an agreement which requires expensive surveillance and monitoring systems and continuing, costly weapons research are essential. An arms control measure, although reducing or limiting some types of weapons, may require expansion or diversification of other weapons systems and forces to provide for overall strategic stability. This necessary development, however, can lead to problems of verification. The difficulties of bilateral stability may be impossible to rectify if a third party, like Communist China, must be added to the equation.

1417
Bonham, G. Matthew. SIMULATING INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 15, Sept. 1971: 299-315. illus. JX1901.J6, v. 15

"This research was supported by the JWGA/ARPA/NU project on Simulated International Processes (Advanced Research Project Agency, SD 260) conducted at Northwestern University and the Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley."

An all-man simulation was developed to reproduce crucial aspects of negotiations on disarmament. Experimental procedures were used to induce strong disagreement between negotiators in the simulation about the relative importance of two disarmament issues. As hypothesized, differences in issue emphasis resulted in greater negative affect and hostility, fewer concessions, less reciprocation of concession-making, and fewer major agreements than where issue emphasis was not manipulated. Although the results were obtained in a laboratory setting, they can be generalized with some confidence to negotiation between nations. Systematic comparison of the simulation to its referent situation suggests that the simulation is largely similar to the goals, background factors, conditions, and processes of the disarmament negotiations of the 1950s. The experiment demonstrates the utility of using an all-man simulation to study international negotiation, provided that an effort is made to compare the simulation to observable aspects of negotiation between nations. (Abstract supplied)

1418
Bottome, Edgar M. THE BALANCE OF TERROR; A GUIDE TO THE ARMS RACE. Boston, Beacon Press [1971] xix, 213 p. illus. UA23.B727
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Early years of the arms race (1945-1952).--The Eisenhower years: massive retaliation and collective security (1953-1957).--The missile gap: a study in myth creation (1957-1961).--The Kennedy administration: flexible response and second-strike counterforce (1961-1963).--Johnson-Nixon: logic fulfilled (1963-1970).--Epilogue.--Appendixes.--Glossary.

An historical and analytical study of the U.S.-Soviet strategic arms race. Bottome argues that to preserve the postwar status quo, the United States has successfully sought and maintained constant strategic superiority over the Soviet Union, thus putting itself "in a position of being fundamentally responsible for every major escalation of the arms race." He advances some proposals for superpower disarmament, but admits that they have little chance of adoption, given "the American commitment to empire and the domestic forces working for a continuation of the arms race."

1419
Burns, Richard Dean. SUPERVISION, CONTROL AND INSPECTION OF ARMAMENTS: 1919-1941 PERSPECTIVE. Orbis, v. 15, fall 1971: 943-952.
D839.068, v. 15

Discusses "the divergent national attitudes stimulated by comprehensive disarmament schemes, sketch[es] the type of control and verification systems actually employed in the interwar arms treaties, and probe[s] some of the problems encountered by those systems." Burns argues that the positions taken by the big powers after World War I regarding inspection, verification, and supervision of disarmament agreements were more often determined by national security than by abstract principles and that a shift in position by one of these countries constituted less an abandonment of moral principles than a desire to enhance one's position in the international political arena. Despite this attitude, every arms control agreement during these years employed regulatory mechanisms, described as on-site supervisory commissions, reporting commissions, enquiry commissions, notification procedures, and mutual self-enforcement. He concludes that an extensive international inspection system will not eliminate preconceived suspicions that one side has about the other because today's psychological dimensions of arms control may be much the same as they were during the interwar period.

1420
Clemens, Walter C. EUROPEAN ARMS CONTROL: HOW, WHAT, AND WHEN? International Journal, v. 27, winter 1971/72: 45-72.
D839.I5, v. 27

Suggests the possible difficulties arising from the search for détente between the Warsaw Pact and NATO members. Clemens explains how East-West accommodation might follow a "Standard Model" combining elements of four variant policies: a strategy of interdependence, a status quo policy, a forward policy, or isolationism. He examines the problem of mutual and balanced force reductions in light of the model and demonstrates that the questions are more complex even than those encountered at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. He also discusses tactical nuclear weapons and their superfluity in Europe.

1421
Feiveson, Harold. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT. In Black, Cyril E., and Richard A. Falk, comps. The future of the international legal order. Volume III: Conflict management. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1971: 336-369.
JX3091.F8, v. 3
Includes bibliographical footnotes.

The poor record of Soviet-U.S. arms control measures is due to technical obstacles, which in reality hinge on political issues; strategic obstacles, which may be more easily resolved now that Soviet-U.S. capabilities and doctrines are almost identical; conceptual misconceptions on both sides about the nature and purpose of arms control; and powerful internal opposition. The present strategic situation is relatively stable because of either side's clear ability to inflict unacceptable damage on the other and the prevailing strategic doctrine which rules out the first use of nuclear weapons. However, if the arms race proceeds on its present course--that is, if no meaningful arms control accords can be reached--these factors may no longer apply. Indeed, the arms race may be moving beyond any hope of rational control and fresh, novel approaches are needed. "The time may be approaching when the single most powerful impulse to strategic arms limitations will be their impact on the spread of nuclear weapons." The decisive factor in future arms control agreements will be the results of negotiations within each side's national security establishment, whose outcome will turn on the extent to which it is recognized that arms control questions are really not technical, but political and moral issues. In the 1970's, meaningful arms control must begin with a substantial measure of self-imposed restraint by each nation, and informal understandings may effectively deal with a considerable range of issues. But for arms control to make a fundamental contribution to international stability, it may have to be accompanied "by a radical change in international politics and eventually in the nation-state system itself."

1422
Griffiths, Franklyn. TRANSNATIONAL POLITICS AND ARMS CONTROL. International Journal, v. 26, autumn 1971: 640-674.
D839.I5, v. 26

Presents the Soviet approach to arms control, emphasizing some recent American interpretations of Soviet policy, and suggests "that arms control is better viewed as a transnational rather than an inter-nation phenomenon." Griffiths describes some research on this phenomenon in order to bring out the special features of transnational analysis. He outlines the elements of a transnational arms control process in Soviet-American relations and some new policy considerations. Griffiths argues that the arms race is not really an international phenomenon but rather the product of unilateral domestic processes that are only indirect-

ly influenced by the opponent's actions. He calls for a program and a policy to increase the influence of a transnational coalition of arms control communities.

1423

Kodžić, Petar. MILITARY EFFORT AND ARMS OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: A SELECT ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. University of Ljubljana, Co-operation With Developing Countries Research Center, 1971. 51, [6] p. DLC

A bibliography of published material dealing with arms control, international tensions, military capability, and related matters in emerging, or Third World, nations. The introduction is in English and Serbo-Croatian. Titles appear in their original language, while annotations are in Serbo-Croatian.

1424

Lvov, Michail. [DISARMAMENT IS NECESSARY AND POSSIBLE] Abrüstung ist notwendig und möglich. Sowjetunion heute (Cologne) v. 16, Nov. 16, 1971: 26-27, 34. DK266.A2S784, v. 16

The danger that the arms race will constitute in the 1980's is unthinkable. The race is underway because imperialism and militarism are inseparable and the imperialists use militarism to serve their aggressive aims. It is to thwart these aims that the Socialist states were obliged to enter the arms race. Because of enormous public pressure against the proliferation and attendant costs of armaments, the imperialists have paid lip service to disarmament. They have conceived one-sided disarmament plans, such as the Baruch proposal, to keep the Socialist states at a military disadvantage. More recently they have showed a tendency to impede disarmament progress by endlessly spinning out the negotiations. Nonetheless, the new relationship of forces, the enormous costs to the capitalists themselves, the dissatisfaction growing from unemployment, and the example set by peripheral armaments agreements (Test Ban, Outer Space Treaties) enhance the possibility of working out disarmament agreements.

1425

Matthiessen, Gunnar. [DISARMAMENT AND THE IDEOLOGY OF BALANCE] Die Abrüstung und die Ideologie des Gleichgewichts. Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik, v. 16, Oct. 1971: 1009-1017; Dec. 1971: 1249-1260. D839.B57, v. 16

Discusses disarmament, the nuclear balance of power, the strategy of flexible response, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), force reductions, and the proposed European security conference, arguing that the Soviet Union favors disarmament while the West holds to a dangerous policy of nuclear balance and prefers arms control. The strategy of flexible response can lead to false estimates of the relationship of forces and encourage an escalation almost to the point of no return. Symbolic troop cuts are also perilous, for the Bundeswehr is already planning on how to compensate through restructuring and rearmament (possibly with tactical nuclear weapons). While no concrete disarmament measures will result from SALT, a positive outcome of these negotiations would promote such measures. One of the problems complicating the extension of SALT to offensive nuclear weapons, Matthiessen explains, is the chain of American forward bases supporting bombers and aircraft carriers. He concludes that the time is ripe for pressing ahead in all the areas that will lessen the risk of war. The proposed European security conference can have a very favorable effect on the negotiations for a reduction of forces in Europe.

1426

Miksche, Ferdinand O. [THE ARMAMENTS RACE; CAUSES AND EFFECTS] Rüstungswettlauf; Ursachen und Auswirkungen. Stuttgart, Seewald Verlag [c1972] 452 p. illus. UA10.M575

Contents.--Foreword.--pt. 1. Causes--armaments industries and business: The global armaments race. America's "defense market." British armaments policy. The reconstruction of the French armaments industries. The Federal Republic as a weapons market. The armaments policy of the Warsaw Pact states. Basic features of the armaments business.--pt. 2. Effects--armaments race in the tension areas of world politics: The European field of forces. The armaments race in the Arab World. Poker game for Asia.--Epilog.--Appendix I: Data on the armaments industries of states whose weapons exports are of no special political significance (Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland).--Appendix II: Tables of weapons systems.

Surveys the worldwide arms race, foreseeing no letup despite announced relaxations of tension and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. On the contrary, Miksche says, military expenditures have increased by nearly 30 percent chiefly as a result of the Vietnam war, the Middle East crisis, and the technological competition between the Soviet Union and the United States. The Soviet Union will continue to remain a threat to Western Europe, despite its professions of détente, renunciations of force, and the recognition of "realities." Whatever stands in the way of Soviet ideological goals, like NATO or the American presence in Europe, will be characterized by Moscow as jeopardizing the peace. Unless Western Europe succeeds in unifying itself and thus becomes a counterweight to Soviet ambitions, Miksche warns, it will lose not only its security but its standard of living.

1427

Ranger, Robert. ARMS CONTROL WITHIN A CHANGING POLITICAL CONTEXT. International Journal, v. 26, autumn 1971: 735-752. D839.I5, v. 26

Article arose out of a doctoral dissertation at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

Contends that arms control negotiations have become a function of the political environment rather than a series of attempts to limit the deployment of destabilizing strategic weapons. Ranger "considers, firstly, the evolution of the differing western and Soviet approaches to the problem of strategic stability between 1958 and 1962 and, secondly, the balance of technical and political factors in the agreements reached from 1963 onwards." During the late 1950's and early 1960's the definition of the two central issues of surprise attack and a nuclear test ban strengthened the trend toward concentrating on verification techniques rather than on what agreements could be reached. This definition led to American improvements in command and control, greater protection against surprise attack, and the procurement of second-strike forces, which, although in accordance with the strategy and arms control requirements of this period, indirectly led to overestimations of the Soviet Union's strategic capabilities and subsequently, to Khrushchev's unsuccessful attempt to emplace missiles in Cuba. Ranger stresses that after the missile crisis arms control agreements were politically oriented and that arms control became the chief modality for détente. He concludes that although American and Soviet views of arms control are as divergent as ever, with the Soviet Union viewing arms control primarily in political terms and the United States seeing it chiefly in technical ones, the emergence of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks suggests the interaction of politics and technology has been recognized for the complex process that it is.

1428
Schooler, Dean. SCIENTISTS IN AN EXTRA-NATIONAL ARENA: DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL POLICY. In his Science, scientists, and public policy. New York, Free Press [1971]: 103-112.
Q127.U6S28 1971

"The scientists' influence on disarmament and arms control policy can be described as moderately low, despite a high level of policy and influence-oriented activity on scientists' part." Influence has come from initiating changes in strategic weapons policy, but this initiative has been largely absent from other policy functions. Scientists were unsuccessful in preventing the military use of the atomic bomb, but did win the formal victory in civilian control of nuclear energy because no organized opposition appeared to challenge the scientific community's apparent unity. Due to obvious disunity over hydrogen bomb development, the decision to build the weapon went against the antibomb scientists. After 1957 scientists began to gain access to policy circles, but the influence of pro-arms control scientists has been hampered by administrative concern for national security. With technical considerations becoming important in a nuclear test ban, "the scientists, having contributed toward a political climate in which a test ban could be sought, stepped into a limited role as technical experts serving a political objective (test ban) selected and pursued by nonscientist politicians and diplomats." The political environment is a stormy one for those defending arms control and disarmament measures against a powerful establishment with vested interests in defense and weapons policy. It has been argued that a countervailing arms control interest is needed. The modestly funded Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, sensitive to political considerations, has a minimal research budget. "So research and governmental awareness of arms control and disarmament remain in a primitive state, both politically and scientifically." Because issues in this field lack a sense of urgency, the policymakers have not felt the need to rely on scientific judgment. Scientific advice has been called upon only in support of policy goals. The scientists' real contribution has been creation of greater public receptivity to arms control.

1429
U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations. Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Law and Organization. ABM, MIRV, SALT AND THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE. Hearings, Ninety-first Congress, second session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1970. 624 p. illus.
KF26.F627 1970

Hearings held March 16, April 8, 9, 13, and 14, May 18 and 28, June 4 and 29, 1970.
Albert Gore, subcommittee chairman.

Examines the current state of the nuclear arms race, concentrating on the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and on the effects on Soviet and Chinese defense and foreign policies of the American Safeguard antimissile defense system and of multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRV). Witnesses include Senator Brooke, who testified on his Senate resolution 211 calling for a Soviet-American moratorium on MIRV testing and deployment and a freeze on offensive missiles; Secretary of Defense Laird, who also discussed U.S. policy in Vietnam and Southeast Asia; McGeorge Bundy, former special assistant to President Johnson; John Foster and Herbert York, present and former directors of Defense Research and Engineering; Adrian Fisher and Herbert Scoville, former officials of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; and George Kistiakowsky, Jerome Wiesner, and Donald Hornig, former science advisers to Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson. Opening the penultimate hearing, Senator Gore observed that "all of these witnesses [heard to date], except our distinguished Secretary of Defense . . . have said that in their judgment expanding Safeguard and deploying MIRV would be at best unwise and unnecessary, and at worst damaging if not dangerous in the effect that such actions would have on the arms race and on negotiations in that vital area."

1430
Walsh, John. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT: SALT, CCD, CTB, MBFR, ETC. Science, v. 175, Jan. 21, 1972: 281-282. Q1.S35, v. 175

Summarizes current developments in arms control and disarmament efforts. Walsh discusses the draft treaty on biological warfare, the difficulties in securing a workable treaty banning chemical warfare, the current status of mutual and balanced force reductions, the Soviet proposals for a five-power and a world disarmament conference, the implications of Soviet strategic parity, the research-and-development-gap controversy, and the course of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). "While other arms control and disarmament negotiations are in progress in Geneva and, potentially, in Brussels or Warsaw, failure to reach a significant agreement at SALT this year would have serious consequences," he concludes.

COMPREHENSIVE APPROACHES

1431
Burns, E. L. M. DISARMAMENT AND MILITARY POLICY. International Journal, v. 26, autumn 1971: 619-634. D839.I5, v. 26

Traces the evolution of disarmament negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union from the postwar era to the present, focusing on the general and complete disarmament proposals tabled at the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament from 1959 to 1962 and agreements produced by the Committee like the 1963 Test Ban Treaty and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. The major stumbling block to general and complete disarmament has been international on-site inspection, which the Russians contend would give the West an opportunity for spying. Burns considers the problems facing the negotiators at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, noting that agreement to ban the ABM and an accord on balanced force reductions in Europe are essential.

1432
Galtung, Johan. IMAGES OF THE WORLD IN THE YEAR 2000; A SYNTHESIS OF THE MARGINALS OF THE TEN NATIONS-STUDY. Preliminary version. [Wien, European Coordination Centre for Research and Documentation in Social Sciences] 1970. 64 p. illus. HM221.G35

"IM2/38."

L.C. copy imperfect; pages 20 and 30 missing.

"The project participants are jointly preparing a book on the result which will be edited by the Vienna Centre and published in 1971."

Contents.--[Foreword] by Helmut Ornauer.--Preface.--Introduction.--Some remarks about the data.--A note on aggregate analysis.--The concern with the future.--The attitude to science.--The attitudes to domestic future.--Optimism and pessimism: the Cantril items.--General future philosophy.--Polarization/dogmatism-orientation.--Perspectives on war and the prospects of the world.--What is needed to obtain peace.--The younger and the older generation--and the year 2000.--Summary and conclusion.

Presents findings drawn from data collected from interviews with almost 9,000 subjects ranging in age from 15 to 40 in Czechoslovakia, Finland, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Spain, Yugoslavia (Slovenia only), the United Kingdom, and Uttar Pradesh (India). The study's purpose is to use "attitudes, expectations, hopes and anxieties concerning the future, particularly the Year 2000, as a method that may permit us to understand the present better." Opinion was solicited on the most and least hoped-for developments, probable scientific and technological achievements, national, social, economic, personal, and generational outlook, and war, peace, and international prospects. Galtung finds that respondents in all ten countries think there will be more armament in the world in the immediate future, but their answers about the situation 20 years hence and in 2000 indicate they think that conditions are moving toward peace and disarmament. "In other words, the world is seen as capable of improving." The six most popular peace proposals are, in order, abolition of hunger and poverty, increased trade and cooperation between international rivals, a more effective United Nations, a narrower gap between developed and developing countries, freely-elected governments for all countries, and more peaceful relations in immediate groups. The four least popular are, in order, world government, increased religiosity, a global capitalist economy, and greater national isolationism. Among individual countries, "the socialist countries (Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia) believed much more than the others in specific and positive effects of general and complete disarmament [GCD]; the five more developed nations [Finland, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, and the United Kingdom] were all highest in being sceptical towards GCD."

1433
Phillips, Christopher H. U.S. GIVES VIEWS ON QUESTION OF WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 66, Jan. 24, 1972: 109-112. JX232.A33, v. 66

Statement made to the U.N. General Assembly on Nov. 26, 1971, outlining U.S. views on a proposed General Assembly resolution expressing the desire of the Assembly that immediate steps be taken to begin advance preparations for convening a world disarmament conference and calling on all states to submit recommendations to the Secretary-General concerning its objectives, provisional agenda, site, date and duration, procedural rules, and relationship to the United Nations, together with the text of the resolution, which was adopted by acclamation on Dec. 16, 1971. In the U.S. view, "progress in restraining armaments, progress toward halting and turning back the arms race, progress that is stable and durable, can best be

achieved through the working out and the acceptance of concrete agreements among states" by means of "serious and careful negotiations" and not "through the convening of large and unwieldy conferences." The United States is "prepared to participate in a further exchange of views regarding the advisability of this sort of conference," but believes that "it would be most helpful if voting on any resolution regarding this item were postponed to permit further consultations among members concerning the issues involved."

1434
Stoleshnikov, A. DISARMAMENT--THE POSSIBILITIES OF A WORLD FORUM. International affairs (Moscow) Dec. 1971: 18-22. D839.I465, 1971

The Soviet Union has demonstrated its desire for peace by proposing a world disarmament conference which together with a five-power nuclear disarmament conference would curb the arms race, disarm the world and by reducing military expenditures rechannel economic resources to social causes. At the 26th session of the U.N. General Assembly the Soviet Union submitted a draft resolution, widely supported in the world press, for the convocation of a world disarmament conference in 1972. By suggesting a forum for all states, the Soviet proposal gives fresh impetus to the goal of general and complete disarmament but does not replace negotiations in progress. Arms limitation treaties like those banning atmospheric nuclear testing, governing the exploration and use of outer space, and prohibiting the emplacement of weapons on the ocean floor were the result of the efforts of the Soviet Union. So "the recent Soviet initiative is not designed for its propaganda effect, as some in the West allege, but for a practical solution of the problems of disarmament."

1435
Werkheiser, Don. DISARMAMENT WITHOUT TRUST. Journal of human relations, v. 19, 2nd quarter 1971: 176-183. H1.J55, v. 19

Since the Soviets and Americans seemingly cannot achieve disarmament with trust, can they find disarmament without trust? One plan for trustless disarmament requires setting up teams of observers to watch, not snoop, as each superpower cuts its total armaments supply in half. Thus actual numbers of conventional and nuclear weapons would be reduced at once, but the Soviet superiority in conventional arms and the U.S. atomic lead would be preserved. Subsequent half-reductions would bring the armaments supply below the "overkill" level. Procedures for detection of future testing or production could then be devised. If both sides are sincere about effecting disarmament, they should agree to such a balanced plan. For one to refuse would demonstrate that "it is not the other side that keeps them on the road to ruin, but rather their own avid lust for power and domination."

ARMS CONTROL: SPECIFIC PROBLEMS AND MEASURES

REDUCING THE RISK OF WAR

1436
Bailey, Sydney D. PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES; IDEAS AND PROPOSALS FOR RESEARCH. [New York] United Nations Institute for Training and Research [1970] 67 p. JX4473.B3
Originally prepared as a background paper for a United Nations Institute for Training and Research panel meeting in New York on May 5-7, 1969.
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction.--Previous studies and decisions by United Nations organs regarding peaceful settlement of disputes.--The nature of conflict, disputes, crises, and aggression.--Means of peaceful settlement.--Terms of peaceful settlement.--Summary list of proposals for study and research.--Epilogue.--Annex I: selected proposals submitted to United Nations organs in connexion with the peaceful settlement of disputes.--Annex II: the peaceful settlement of disputes in the General Assembly and the Security Council and their subsidiary organs: selected references.

Surveys existing processes and machinery of conflict management and resolution within the United Nations system and presents possible new approaches for reconciliation of differences between states. After reviewing U.N. measures and proposals, Bailey discusses general theories of conflict and aggression. He then summarizes methods of peacefully settling disputes, drawing on recent contributions of the social and behavioral sciences as well as more traditional approaches, and outlines possible solutions resulting from the settlement process. Bailey concludes with a listing of proposals discussed, indicating the places in the text where particulars are given. Proposals presented to the United Nations for consideration and references to U.N. actions in regard to peaceful settlements are appended.

1437
CHEN CHU EXPOUNDS CHINA'S PRINCIPLED STAND IN SUPPORTING "DECLARATION OF INDIAN OCEAN AS PEACE ZONE." In U.S. Consulate General, Hong Kong. Survey of China mainland press, no. 5039, Dec. 22, 1971: 116-118. Micro 01327
Hsin hua t'ung hsün shê [New China News Agency] release, English, United Nations, Dec. 10, 1971. DS777.55.H656, 1971

At the December 10, 1971, meeting of the U.N. First (Political) Committee, the People's Republic of China supported the draft resolution of Ceylon and twelve other nations to declare the Indian Ocean a peace zone. The Chinese representative, Chen Chu, said that his Government backed the measure in principle because of "the urgent desire of many Afro-Asian countries to safeguard their national independence and state sovereignty" and "their just demand to oppose the superpowers' contention for hegemony and division of spheres of influence in the Indian Ocean." Chen also called for a halt of Indian aggression against Pakistan before talk on an Indian Ocean peace zone. He stated that India was unqualified to cosponsor the resolution and that the real issue is for the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and India to "undertake obligations" in the Indian Ocean. China subsequently voted for the resolution.

1438
CHEN CHU REITERATES CHINA'S STAND ON NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AT UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY FIRST COMMITTEE MEETING. In U.S. Consulate General, Hong Kong. Survey of China mainland press, no. 5039, Dec. 22, 1971: 115-116. Micro 01327
Hsin hua t'ung hsün shê [New China News Agency] release, English, United Nations, Dec. 10, 1971. DS777.55.H656, 1971

On December 10, 1971, Chinese representative Chen Chu addressed the U.N. First (Political) Committee on the draft resolution urging an additional protocol to the Treaty of Tlatelolco prohibiting nuclear weapons in Latin America. He restated China's clear and consistent policy on the total prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. "The Chinese government holds that the demand that many medium and small countries have put forward for the establishment of nuclear-free zones and peace zones in order to oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war is just." China has no troops or military bases on foreign soil and has pledged never to use nuclear weapons first against any nation. By these policies China provides the best support possible to the desire of many countries to establish denuclearized zones. The essential requirement for establishing nuclear-free zones must be withdrawal of foreign nuclear forces and a pledge of no-first-use by the two superpowers. "Basing itself on the above views, the Chinese Delegation will not take part in the voting on this draft resolution."

1439
Erickson, John. SOVIET COMMAND AND CONTROL. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Jan. 1972: 41-50. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 52

Reports on recent Soviet progress in the application of advanced data processing, communications, and automation techniques to the problems of command and control. For the Soviet military the problem is essentially one of troop control. The issues are not merely procedural, for to some extent cybernetics is a direct challenge to the Soviet philosophy of command. Adoption of the new technology and methods has involved the retraining of field commanders and staff officers, a more scientific approach to data collection, and administrative and combat reorganization. Training increasingly has taken the form of large-scale multilateral field exercises, which are "a combination of field training, the testing of certain scenarios, the implementation of combat readiness, and a form of deployment which carries with it the risk, or the demonstration, of escalation."

1440
Forndran, Erhard. [DISARMAMENT AND PEACE RESEARCH; CRITIQUE OF E. KRIPPENDORFF, D. SENGHAAS AND TH. EBERT] Abrüstung und Friedensforschung; Kritik an E. Krippendorff, D. Senghaas und Th. Ebert. [Düsseldorf] Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag [c1971] 149 p. (Konzepte Sozialwissenschaft, 2)
JX1974.F617
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Introduction.--Disarmament--deadend track for peace research?--Critique on the criticism of deterrence.--Civilian defense--alternative to nuclear deterrence.--Possibilities and limitations of a policy of disarmament.--Index.

Studies the relevance of disarmament as a subject of peace research and in the process critically examines the theses of the peace researchers Krippendorff, Senghaas, and Ebert. Forndran concludes that, while a policy of disarmament is not an instrument for a revolutionary social change, disarmament research is a necessary part of long-term peace research. In fact, even over short periods, the influence of disarmament research on armaments production and military policy is unquestionable.

1441
Girling, J. L. S. NIXON'S "ALGERIA"--DOCTRINE AND DISENGAGEMENT IN INDOCHINA. Pacific affairs, v. 44, winter 1971/72: 527-544.
DU1.P13, v. 44

U.S. policies in Laos and Cambodia "accurately provide models for the international application of the [Nixon] doctrine in situations of insurgency and potential insurgency." In moving to disengage from the Vietnam war, the Nixon administration chose Vietnamization rather than negotiation, for basic U.S. objectives in South Vietnam were not negotiable. The expectations aroused by the 1970 Cambodia invasion were dashed by the abortive 1971 Laos campaign, the last attempt to achieve American goals through "Vietnamized" means. The Nixon Doctrine in Laos has meant militarization and support of local elites, backed by all necessary U.S. airpower, to eradicate the enemy environment through massive destruction, causing heavy material damage and massive dislocations of the civilian population. These tactics are more destructive of native social patterns and institutions than of the enemy. The ruling elites, deep in corruption and untouched by reform, are given massive aid and let alone, in return for a free hand for the United States in military counterinsurgency policy. U.S. policy is much the same in Cambodia, which "is stated on the highest authority to provide a 'concrete illustration' of the Nixon doctrine principles." In South Vietnam, U.S. forces back and maintain the ruling military establishment, but this contribution to stability is a declining asset. The prospects for a Vietnamized South Vietnam favor the Communists. While a "peace of exhaustion" may develop if the army manages to maintain its solidarity, it is more likely that North Vietnam will wait for the Saigon regime to disintegrate after final U.S. disengagement.

1442
Gruder, Charles L. RELATIONSHIPS WITH OPPONENT AND PARTNER IN MIXED-MOTIVE BARGAINING. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 15, Sept. 1971: 403-416. illus.
JX1901.J6, v. 15
"This report is based on a doctoral dissertation at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and was supported by Predoctoral Fellowship 1-F1-MH-35,916-01 from the National Institute of Mental Health, US Public Health Service."

A 2×2×2 factorial design was used in this investigation of mixed-motive bargaining. Male undergraduate *Ss* (a) perceived their opponent to be either fair or exploitative, (b) felt accountable to their opponent or not, and (c) felt accountable to their partner or not. As expected, *Ss* who perceived their opponent to be fair made a higher proportion of concessions and made larger concessions than *Ss* with an exploitative opponent; as a result the former conceded further and reached agreement in more bargaining exchanges. Interactions on proportion of offers which were concessions and on size of concessions showed that *Ss* who were accountable to a fair opponent displayed a more cooperative bargaining style than *Ss* who were not accountable, while *Ss* who were accountable to an exploitative opponent displayed a less cooperative style than *Ss* who were not accountable. Supporting these findings, *Ss* with an exploitative opponent accompanied their bargaining offers with significantly more arguments labeled "threat," and tended to use more "deception" arguments and fewer "personal appeal" and "cooperation" arguments than *Ss* with a fair opponent. The first concessions made by *Ss* who were accountable to their partners were smaller than those made by *Ss* who were not accountable. This finding was taken as tentative support for the expectation that *Ss* accountable to their partner would display a less cooperative bargaining style than those not accountable. (Abstract supplied)

1443
Gurtov, Melvin. BEYOND THE PENTAGON PAPERS. Ramparts, v. 10, Feb. 1972: 49, 59-62.
AP2.R19, v. 10

Argues that the decisions to escalate the Vietnam war were "made deliberately, not haphazardly" and were linked to the belief that America must staunchly oppose global communism. Gurtov shows how successive administrations continued to operate in the firm confidence that American success was inevitable, a belief that gradually turned into the negative goal of staying in the war to avoid defeat. The crisis managers advising the President became so involved they "would not, perhaps could not, let go." Gurtov concludes that the American refusal to consider disengagement as an alternative to a prolonged war represented "fulfillment of the wish to global predominance."

1444
Hudson, Richard. THE FINAL CHAPTER IN VIETNAM: A POLITICAL OR MILITARY DENOUEMENT? War/peace report, v. 11, Dec. 1971: 3-7. illus.
JX1901.W38, v. 11

Interview conducted by Richard Hudson with Peter Arnett and Wilfred Burchett, veteran correspondents covering the opposing sides in the Vietnam war. Arnett sees the Communists using the withdrawal of U.S. forces to step up military activities against the South Vietnamese forces in the isolated areas. He feels that this increased pressure will create strains in South Vietnamese society that will lead to Communist political efforts and the possible breakdown of the Thieu Government. Burchett foresees the political disintegration of the South Vietnamese Government and, consequently, accommodations between the Saigon regime and the Communists developing on all levels throughout the country.

1445
Iklé, Fred C. EVERY WAR MUST END. New York, Columbia University Press, 1971. 160 p. (Columbia paperback no. 116) U21.2.I36
Bibliography: p. 151-153.

Contents.--The purpose of fighting.--The fog of military estimates.--Peace through escalation?--The struggle within: patriots against "traitors."--The struggle within: search for an exit.--Ending wars before they start.--Notes.--Bibliography on the termination of wars.--Index.

Explores the process through which wars in the 20th century have been terminated and the implications of this process for the future. Iklé contends that with the outbreak of war government leaders lose much of their freedom of action in changing national policy toward the opponent and are constrained by the massive government machinery that provides the means for waging war. He concludes that consequently wars must be stopped before they begin.

1446
IMPORTANT PROPOSAL FOR PROMOTING PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREA. Peking review, v. 15, Feb. 4, 1972: 10. DS701.P42, v. 15
Renmin Ribao editorial, January 29, 1972.

North Korean Premier Kim Il Sung has proposed "a peace agreement between north and south Korea and, under the condition of withdrawal of the U.S. imperialist aggressor troops from south Korea, a drastic cut in the armed forces of both north and south Korea, as well as north-south political negotiations to strengthen contacts and ties between the north and south and to solve the question of the reunification of Korea." China thoroughly backs this proposal. Aggressive U.S. imperialism is wholly responsible for the continued Korean division. The peaceloving Government of North Korea, which has always striven for reunification, has succeeded in inaugurating preliminary talks in response to the deepest hopes of the South Korean people. U.S. imperialism and its henchmen, their fears aroused by this unconquerable spirit, have struck back with lies and repression. Premier Kim's initiative has ripped the mask from the Park puppet clique and demonstrated for all North Korea's love of peace.

1447
Kahin, George McT. NIXON'S PEACE PLAN. New republic, v. 166, Feb. 12, 1972: 12-14.
AP2.N624, v. 166

President Nixon's eight-point peace plan is unlikely to lead to a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war. The President's proposal for a cease-fire for all parties is unacceptable since the Communists are unwilling to stop fighting without first reaching a political settlement with the Thieu regime. They feel that a cease-fire would freeze contending forces in a configuration reflecting the still-substantial presence of U.S. troops and air power. The Nixon cease-fire plan requires withdrawal of Hanoi's forces, an unlikely development without a prior political settlement or assurances of protection for its adherents. In addition, a cease-fire at the present moment would halt anticipated dry-season attacks and catch many important National Liberation Front (NLF) units outside South Vietnamese borders. Under the Nixon terms, NLF troops would probably have to go to North Vietnam or lay down their arms since the President's proposal says nothing about political amnesty. While the Communists have called for the release of all civilian prisoners by both sides, the President would provide for release only of "innocent" civilians, a loophole which, in view of Saigon's past performance, is hardly reassuring. The rigged, farcical Presidential elections of 1967 and 1971, held under "neutral" American sponsorship, justify Communists' doubts about the new election proposed by the President during which the governmental machinery would remain in the hands of Thieu and his lieutenants. Its experience with international supervision of elections after the 1954 Geneva Accords

makes Hanoi dubious of such a mechanism without changes in Saigon first. "Whether taken as a whole or restricted to its most fundamental elements, President Nixon's eight-point proposal departs so far from what our opponents might possibly accept, as to lend credence to the allegation that he is addressing himself to an American audience rather than to those with whom he says he wants to negotiate." The continued survival of the Saigon regime is clearly ranked ahead of prisoner release and the safety of U.S. forces.

1448
Lotz, Walter E. NATO INTEGRATED COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM. Signal, v. 26, Jan./Feb. 1972: 53-56. illus. UG1.M65, v. 26

Reviews NATO's communications problems and discusses the concept and characteristics of the NATO Integrated Communications System and the task faced by the NATO Integrated Communications System Management Agency in designing, acquiring, and operating a new communications system for the Alliance. An organization chart of the agency is included.

1449
Martin, Glen W. THE DETERRENT ROLE OF STRATEGIC FORCES. Signal, v. 26, Mar. 1972: 18-20. illus. UG1.M65, v. 26

Summarizes the development, requirements, task imperatives, and role of the new generation of communications facilities that enable the Strategic Air Command to perform its global deterrent role. Martin expresses concern about the cuts in defense spending in the face of new increases in the production of Soviet strategic weapons, emphasizing that perhaps part of the deprecation of military people and the missions they support is due to the euphoria induced by public optimism over the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. He concludes that in view of the qualitative improvements in U.S. strategic weaponry, the job of planning and operating the components of the military's command and control system will become extremely complex.

1450
Pipes, Richard. INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATION, SOME OPERATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. Memorandum prepared at the request of the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations (pursuant to S. Res. 31, 92d Cong.) of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972. 19 p. DLC

Reveals the Soviet Union's "art of operations," a concept developed to bridge the gap between strategy and tactics. Pipes emphasizes that "the whole concept, with its stress on coordinated, uninterrupted assault intended to bring mounting pressure on the enemy, admirably describes what is probably the most characteristic feature of Soviet foreign policy." That policy makes no essential distinction between military and political tactics, so that all means of operation are essentially the same--militant, though not necessarily belligerent. Pipes also discusses Soviet techniques for influencing public opinion in the United States and other NATO countries and contrasts the Soviet and Western approaches to negotiations. The Sino-Soviet conflict may prove the most serious threat to Moscow, for the Chinese do not consider Russian territory inviolable and are not open to nuclear blackmail. They seek full satisfaction without compromise and will deal with the Soviets in much the same way that Moscow has dealt with the United States.

1451
Ra'anan, Uri. INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATION, THE CHANGING AMERICAN-SOVIET STRATEGIC BALANCE: SOME POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS. Memorandum prepared at the request of the Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations (pursuant to S. Res. 258, 92d Cong.) of the Committee on Government Operations, United States Senate. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972. 16 p. DLC
At head of title: Committee print.

Rejects the assumption that Soviet nuclear strategy is shaped primarily in response to Western actions and warns against a simplistic interpretation of the global power relationship. Ra'anan asserts that psychological or perceived power is a more powerful deterrent than brute force alone. He analyzes the power-perception equation and comments on Soviet superiority and the seeming decline of American influence. He also comments on other asymmetries between Soviet approaches and Western thought. To counter the suggestion of American weakness, the White House practices a policy of "intentional unpredictability" designed to confuse the Soviets as to how the United States will act in a particular crisis. Ra'anan concludes with a scenario of a hypothetical Soviet-U.S. confrontation to show possible American difficulties.

1452
Saraydar, Edward. A CERTAINTY-EQUIVALENT MODEL OF BARGAINING. Journal of conflict resolution, v. 15, Sept. 1971: 281-297. illus. JX1901.J6, v. 15

A central theme woven through much of this paper is the proposition that the degree of uncertainty, as manifested in the subjective probability estimate, is generally a significant constituent of the bargaining process. Two bargaining models that at least nominally incorporate uncertainty--Frederik Zeuthen's and Jan Pen's--are analyzed and shown to be unsatisfactory in that concession decisions ignore the prospect of settlement at in-

termediate demands. Both, therefore, are most appropriate as single-round models. A more realistic multi-round theory of bargaining is developed, with certain components of both Zeuthen's and Pen's work utilized in a certainty-equivalent model of bargaining. The model includes the use of bargaining tactics to alter expectations, postulates concession decisions made on the basis of comparative indices which reflect the certainty equivalent of continued bargaining, and hypothesizes an optimal bargaining strategy that combines elements of both conflict and conciliation. (Abstract supplied)

1453
Schulte, Ludwig. [DETERRENCE AND IMAGE OF THE ENEMY. ARMS CONTROL AND DÉTENTE] Abschreckung und Feindbild. Arms Control und Entspannung. Wehrkunde, v. 20, Nov. 1971: 567-570.
U3.W396, v. 20

Rejects the view that the deterrent system hopelessly polarizes confrontation and intensifies friend-foe relationships, holding instead that new foreign-policy initiatives spur new ideas that in turn counter the "hypnotic rigidity" inspired by fear of the enemy. The trend toward détente and the lessening of confrontation follows its own dialectic, Shulte maintains, and is independent of tendencies to maximize deterrent arsenals. That a modification has set in and that deterrence is no longer reserved exclusively for war, the ultima ratio, can be seen by NATO's use of crisis management in the 1960's to overcome potential political conflicts in contrast to its use in the 1950's to resolve military disputes. The position value of nuclear balance has moved from compellence (blackmail) to deterrence, and this change of value has made détente possible. The future of détente and disarmament will depend on how successfully the nuclear powers can rid their deterrent of its intimidating characteristics, which will depend on the success of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. Deterrence as a basis for securing peace rests on the political will of each side to take a less fearsome view of its adversary.

1454
U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services. Dept. of Defense Worldwide Communications Subcommittee. REVIEW OF DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE WORLDWIDE COMMUNICATIONS; PHASE I. Report of the Armed Services Investigating Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives, Ninety-second Congress, first session, under authority of H. Res. 201. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 42 p.
KF32.A733 1971

Examines the responsiveness of Department of Defense (DOD) communications in crisis situations and the effectiveness of DOD's management of its communications system. The subcommittee calls for a concerted effort to improve the performance and management of this system, noting that in view of the billions of dollars spent on the finest communications equipment, America has the right to demand faultless performance of its defense communications in times of crisis.

1455
U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs. Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs. LEGISLATION ON THE INDOCHINA WAR. Hearings, Ninety-second Congress, first session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 283 p. illus.
KF27.F638 1971b
Hearings held June 22-July 12, 1971.
Supt. of Docs. no.: Y4.F76/1:In2/6.

Considers some 70 bills and resolutions relating to means of terminating the Vietnam war. All but one of the 22 witnesses testifying were Members of Congress, and 14 others submitted statements for the record. On the last day of the hearings, Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Marshall Green presented the administration's position and assessment of the situation. Among the insertions in the record are transcripts of conversations with and statements by members of the North Vietnamese delegation to the Paris peace talks.

1456
U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Government Operations. Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations. INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATION. THE IMPACT OF THE CHANGING POWER BALANCE. Selected comment. Ninety-second Congress, second session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1972. 17 p. DLC
At head of title: Committee print.

Contents.--Strategic power and Soviet conduct, by Thomas W. Wolfe.--Military strength and Soviet risk-taking, by Philip E. Mosely.--Moscow's active foreign policy, by Malcolm Mackintosh.--USA/USSR: the power relationship, by Zbigniew Brzezinski.--Political effects of growing Soviet power, by Eugene V. Rostow.--The hidden crisis, by Dean Acheson.

Essays and testimony examining the U.S.-Soviet power balance and assessing its implications. The pace of strategic developments has exceeded political conversation, creating a need for rigorous analysis and serious thought to determine where the United States is headed.

1457
Wirth, Günter. [FOR A EUROPE OF PEACE; AN HISTORICAL STUDY AND CURRENT REFLECTIONS] Für ein Europa des Friedens; eine historische Studie und aktuelle Betrachtung. Berlin, Union Verlag [1971] 180 p. illus. D1058.W545

Echoes the peace program of the 24th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Erich Honecker's report to the 8th Party Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of the German Democratic Republic. Utilizing lectures delivered to church groups in East Germany, Wirth proclaims the righteousness of the political and ideological struggle waged by the Socialist states.

CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS

1458
[ARMAMENT POOL OF NEUTRALS (I): ASTONISHMENT OVER SWEDISH MODELS. . .] Rüstungspol der Neutralen (I): Staunen über schwedische Modelle. . . Europäische Begegnung, v. 12, Jan. 1972: 59-60.
AP30.E78, v. 12

Sweden's armed neutrality requires vast defense outlays for the support of its well-developed, highly specialized research and development program and armaments industry. A by-product of this defense autarky is the availability of military hardware for sale abroad. Swedish armaments are highly sought after not alone for their quality but because Sweden attaches no political strings. Were Sweden and Switzerland to pool their potential in weapons design and production and enlist Austria as a preferred market, these three neutral states would constitute a political factor of some importance. The Swedish-Swiss-Austrian armaments pool, recently suggested by a Swiss parliamentarian, could not only cut into American and Soviet arms sales but also could assure the independence of neutral Europe, while serving as an example to others.

1459
Bader, William B. THE PROLIFERATION OF CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS. In Black, Cyril E., and Richard A. Falk, comps. The future of the international legal order. Volume III: Conflict management. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1971: 210-223. JX3091.F8, v. 3
Includes bibliographical footnotes.

Little attention has been paid to the menace of conventional weapons, and almost nothing has been done to arrest their spread. By upsetting regional military balances, conventional weapons transfers may encourage nuclear proliferation. The cost of acquiring and maintaining conventional weapons diverts scarce resources from vital social programs. The Defense Department's argument that only a small fraction of U.S. arms sales goes to developing nations misses the point, for a small purchase can make a significant impact in a sensitive area. Further, the developed nations that have received the bulk of U.S. military equipment would like to sell their unneeded armaments to developing countries. Competition from other arms-exporting nations will compel the United States to sell to underdeveloped nations to maintain a high level of sales. Supplying arms to another nation does not necessarily buy influence, nor does a cutoff in the flow seem to force the recipient to alter policy to the supplier's liking. Some means must be devised to regulate and control the international arms traffic, for a complete halt would be impractical. "A program of reporting major arms transfers to the Secretary-General of the United Nations would lay the groundwork for the establishment of conventional weapon 'free zones,'" established and maintained by regional organizations or by the United Nations. The United States should devise an incentive program to encourage developed nations to scrap their American-made arms or sell them back to the supplier.

1460
Bailey, Sydney D. CAN THE BOOMING ARMS TRADE BE HALTED? Christian century, v. 89, Feb. 23, 1972: 220-222. BR1.C45, v. 89

Observes the complexity of arms trade patterns and shows that the original suppliers of the weapons cannot control their later disbursement. Bailey quotes United Nations and Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) publications on the consequences of the arms race. Weapons expenditures and weapons sales, particularly in the Third World, are increasing steadily. Bailey explains the viewpoint of developing nations with regard to their arms needs and quotes the SIPRI conclusion that agreements regulating the possession of weapons will be more effective than those regulating their sale.

1461
Cook, Fred J. DEADLY CONTAGION: ARMS SALES TO THE THIRD WORLD. Nation, v. 214, Jan. 24, 1972: 106-109. illus. AP2.N2, v. 214

Reviews problems involved in arming the developing nations based on material found in Arms Trade With the Third World, a study recently issued by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Cook notes that a nation that has weapons is more likely to become involved in an armed clash than one that does not. The many dangers involved in arming small nations include overinvolvement and overcontrol by the superpowers, and a steadily accelerating arms race, as countries that are ahead struggle to maintain superiority, while smaller nations seek the power to deter aggression. The emphasis is on increasingly sophisticated, perhaps even nuclear, weapons. "Will mankind realize in time that, in an age of horror weapons and nuclear bombs, the warrior can no longer heroically protect, he can only destroy; that he has become, indeed, an anachronism?"

1462
Schwab, Peter, comp. BIAFRA. New York, Facts on File [1971] 142 p. illus. (Interim history)
DT515.9.E3S38

Contents.--Introduction.--Biafra secedes from Nigeria.--Warfronts: Dec. 1967-Dec. 1968.--The economy during war: 1968.--Starvation & relief: 1968.--Peace efforts: 1968.--Foreign relations: 1968.--Warfronts: 1969.--The economy during war: 1969.--Starvation & relief: 1969.--Peace efforts: 1969.--Foreign relations: 1969.--Biafra defeated.--Postwar relief efforts.--Reconstruction & reconciliation.--Index.

A chronological history of the 1967-1970 Nigerian civil war. After recounting developments during 1967, Schwab surveys outside military assist-

ance, economic conditions, civilian privations and relief efforts, peace proposals and initiatives, and Biafran and federal Nigerian foreign relations for each calendar year of the rebellion, carrying events through June 1970, four months after the Biafran defeat.

1463
Truelle, J. [FRENCH LAND WEAPONS EXHIBITION (SATORY, JUNE 1971)] L'exposition française des armements terrestres (Satory, juin 1971). Revue militaire générale; general military review, Nov. 1971: 463-476. U2.R48, 1971
Includes summaries in English and German.

Describes the French arms exhibition at Satory designed to interest foreign countries in French arms. Among the missiles on display were the Milan, an ultra-light infantry missile; the Roland, a ground-to-air missile; and the Harpoon, a wireguided antitank missile. The only atomic weapons system displayed that was not for sale was the Pluton. Truelle notes that France is behind only the United States and the Soviet Union in arms sales to foreign countries. He argues that although the press has been unkind to the "merchants of death," smaller nations need arms to resist the aggressive policies of larger countries.

NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

1464
Appadorai, A. INDIA AND THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY. In his Essays in Indian politics and foreign policy. Delhi, Vikas Publications [1971]: 235-240. DS448.A617

The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty is the result of the superpowers' desire to preserve their status. It contravenes the principles of the 1965 U.N. General Assembly resolution on which it is based by not providing effective means or substantial obligations to prevent nuclear-weapons states from advancing proliferation. The security of the nonnuclear states against nuclear threats cannot be effectively guaranteed by the nuclear powers, nor is there any binding commitment on them to undertake genuine disarmament. If India does sign the treaty, it will lose the option to go nuclear if its national interest later dictates, and it may find its development of peaceful nuclear energy impaired. If India does not sign, it may find itself cut off from the world community and damaged in world opinion. Other nations may be less cooperative toward India than toward signatory nations in nuclear development assistance. Economic aid might be denied and relations with the treaty's sponsors might suffer, but these consequences are unlikely so long as India does not move to acquire actual nuclear weapons. "On balance, it appears to us that perhaps it is best for India not to rush to sign the treaty but watch for some time before she comes to a final decision."

1465
Berchtold, Walter. [THE NONPROLIFERATION TREATY--TROJAN HORSE OR NECESSITY?] Der Atomsperrvertrag--trojanisches Pferd oder Notwendigkeit? Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitschrift, v. 137, Dec. 1971: 876-880. U3.A43, v. 137

While no juridical impediments hinder the signing of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, certain mechanical problems complicate Swiss accession and political considerations militate against it. Treaties whose validity extends for more than 15 years must be submitted to Swiss popular referendum, and the Nonproliferation Treaty's three-month withdrawal notice stipulation requires the existence of certain unusual conditions. Politically, the treaty is unequal, since it demands obligations of the nonnuclear states without any counterperformance by the two superpowers. The former renounce nuclear weapons, the latter presumably continue to make them. The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks do not constitute counterperformance. At best they offer a limited agreement in but one area of disarmament. In the interest of its neutrality and security Switzerland requires the option to acquire tactical nuclear weapons, should they become necessary to thwart nuclear blackmail. Accession to the treaty could be a Trojan horse. Switzerland's refusal to sign the treaty, however, need not be regarded as a rejection of its principles, and Switzerland could continue to support its goals diplomatically.

1466
Doctor, Adi H. INDIA'S NUCLEAR POLICY. Indian journal of political science, v. 32, July/Sept. 1971: 349-356. illus. JA26.I5, v. 32

India's possible acquisition of nuclear weapons is related to its perception of threats to national security. China will soon have a distinct strategic missile capability, and independence for Bangla Desh could mean heightened Sino-Pakistani collusion. To prevent nuclear proliferation, the other two superpowers could be expected to react against Chinese nuclear blackmail of a nonnuclear country, assuming that both retain their nuclear lead over China and continue unfriendly toward it. But any reconciliation between these nations will leave India more vulnerable to nuclear blackmail and subversion of disaffected border areas and of marginal interest to the other superpowers. "Since, in the forseeable [sic] future, China is likely to engage India in limited border wars, it would for short run purposes be enough if India decided to acquire and manufacture tactical nuclear weapons and deploy them against the Chinese forces along the Himalayan border." India's development into a full-fledged nuclear power would insure vital national interests and advance Indian science and technology. India's large deposits of thorium, convertible to fissile uranium, would be developed and utilized. Contrary to assumptions,

economic development would not be retarded by the increased defense expenditures of which India is capable. A considerable spin-off would aid important domestic industries.

1467
Kapur, Ashok. WORLD POLITICS AND THE SECURITY OF INDIA. In Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. Journal, v. 3, Apr. 1971: 485-509.
UA840.I55, v. 3

Analyzes the determinants of Indian nuclear weapons policy. Kapur asserts that the question is no longer one of whether to acquire nuclear weapons but of when. Nuclear self-denial would put India in the situation of being unable "to protect even its limited economic, technological military and political interests in the world community, let alone advance or upgrade its interests in relation to changes in the international environment viz. the failure of bipolarity as the central basis for security in the world." He offers a critique of the political relationships between nuclear weapons and national security that stresses the ethnocentric bias of American discussions of the theory of deterrence, outlines a theory of arms control negotiation that stresses its function as a form of "nuclear rulemaking" for the international community, and concludes with an analysis of the differences between Canadian and Indian approaches to nuclear weapons and arms control, especially as reflected in recent disputes between the two countries over the Nonproliferation Treaty and interpretation of their nuclear assistance agreement.

1468
Kramish, Arnold. THE PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. In Black, Cyril E., and Richard A. Falk, comps. The future of the international legal order. Volume III: Conflict management. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1971: 224-251. JX3091.F8, v. 3
Includes bibliographical footnotes.

The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty's (NPT) asymmetry, which requires nonnuclear states to forego the acquisition or manufacture of nuclear weapons while the nuclear states freely develop and stockpile them, must be corrected if the NPT is to accomplish its purpose. Article VI of the NPT obliges all states to work at halting the arms race and achieving nuclear disarmament. The nonnuclear states "should never let the nuclear weapon powers forget their continuing and evolving obligations under Article VI as their price for the signatures of the nonnuclear weapon states." The concern of the nonnuclear nations about safeguards standards arises not from any wish to divert nuclear material to weapons but from fear of a compromise of their peaceful activities or of power costs increased by rigid inspection costs. An inspection system is needed which is effective but minimally obtrusive. Many nations worry about being left behind technologically by the uninspected, better-positioned nuclear powers, and a clear understanding on the peaceful uses of nuclear explosions is in order. To realize NPT peaceful-applications provisions, and to compete with one another, the nuclear powers must supply the large quantities of nuclear fuels needed to meet growing world demands. Even the peaceful activities of one nation may seem dangerous to another, and the unspoken threat of a surgical strike could operate as a control against "going nuclear." Eventually international systems of intelligence-gathering and disclosure and of stockpiling and dispensing nuclear materials must be established. The regional approach, exemplified by the Tlatelolco and Antarctic Treaties, offers promise as a means of control.

1469
Murphy, Charles J. V. TEETH FOR THE RED CHINESE TIGER. Reader's digest, v. 100, Jan. 1972: 59-63.
AP2.R255, v. 100

Communist China may achieve "an initial strike capability with a squadron or so of intercontinental ballistic missiles (10-25) as early as the mid-1970s--or even by 1973 if development is pushed on a crash basis." The growth of China's nuclear weapons potential is largely due to Soviet technical aid during the late 1950's and to American-trained scientists like Dr. Tsien Hsue-shen, who were trained in the United States after World War II but were returned to China for alleged Communist sympathies. Despite the advances in China's nuclear weapons program, the resulting economic impoverishment imposes limitations on Peking's military reach, and "rules out, for years to come, any credible likelihood of war across the Pacific between the United States and China." However, U.S. diplomacy will face a new Asian danger in that a third of the world's population is being exhorted to embrace "wars of annihilation" and to believe China must become the master of Asia.

1470
Willrich, Mason. CIVIL NUCLEAR POWER: CONFLICT POTENTIAL AND MANAGEMENT. In Black, Cyril E., and Richard A. Falk, comps. The future of the international legal order. Volume III: Conflict management. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1971: 252-270.
JX3091.F8, v. 3
Includes bibliographical footnotes.

World stockpiles of fissionable plutonium derived from civil nuclear programs will soon exceed those used in nuclear weapons, making available militarily useful amounts to nations now without nuclear weapons. The growing energy needs of many developed and some developing nations will induce a serious interest in a nuclear energy capability providing cheap electric power, an option for future nuclear power, or security of national energy resources. "A weapons option will be the inevita-

ble by-product of all large-scale programs," and a nation possessing a weapons option could manufacture the weapons themselves only a few months after deciding to go nuclear. The main existing control mechanisms, "safeguards," merely keep track of nuclear materials in the large. The range of missing quantities to be tolerated will be a political decision, with countries having large nuclear programs resisting narrow standards. To be effective, safeguards must ultimately apply to all nuclear activities of nonnuclear nations, some of which will oppose ubiquitous safeguards unless the nuclear-armed powers also accept them. In any event, safeguards can only verify that nuclear materials are not being diverted from peaceful uses and cannot ensure that they will not be. Of the possible control mechanisms, optimum distribution of nuclear materials to maximize the effectiveness of safeguards, international ownership of key nuclear facilities, and interdependence among nations in the production of nuclear energy, are worth special consideration.

CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL AGENTS

1471

Bach, Pham Van. LAW AND THE USE OF CHEMICAL WARFARE IN VIETNAM. Scientific world, v. 15, no. 6, 1971: 12-14. Q1.S8415, v. 15

"Presented by Dr. Bach to the International Scientists Conference of US chemical warfare in Vietnam which was organized by the World Federation of Scientific Workers" and held on December 12-14, 1970.

Over the past decade, the United States has, in obvious disregard for the standards of customary international law, used gases and toxic chemicals on a massive and systematic scale in its aggressive war against the Vietnamese people, and has harmed ecology, flora, fauna, and humans for generations to come. Many American and other scientists have denounced the use of these agents. The Nixon administration tried to keep secret the Government report showing that the herbicide 2,4,5-T invariably causes fetal malformations in laboratory animals. By exempting defoliants and tear gases from the terms of U.S. ratification of the Geneva Protocol, "President Nixon is trying to give a legal basis for the chemical and biological warfare that he is deliberately waging against the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian people." The Geneva Protocol and the U.N. resolution of December 16, 1969, banning all chemical and biological agents as weapons of war, must be respected by the United States, whether or not it has formally approved them. Chemical warfare, a means of prolonging the war with a minimal loss of U.S. lives, rages unabated. The United States is plainly guilty of war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide, all punishable under the precedents of the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials.

1472

Bush, George. U.N. COMMENDS BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION AND REQUESTS CONTINUED NEGOTIATIONS ON PROHIBITION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 66, Jan. 24, 1972: 102-109.
JX232.A33, v. 66

Statement made in Committee I (Political and Security) of the U.N. General Assembly on Nov. 11, 1971, outlining U.S. views on a pair of proposed General Assembly resolutions commending the Biological Weapons Convention and calling for renewed efforts to control chemical weapons, together with the texts of the two resolutions, which were adopted in Committee on Dec. 8, 1971, and by the Assembly on Dec. 16. Bush reviews the contributions made by various states to the negotiation of the Biological Weapons Convention and urges the Assembly "to encourage prompt and widespread support for the draft convention and to the request that it be opened for signature and ratification at the earliest possible date." He then surveys efforts by the United States and other countries to negotiate an "adequately verified" prohibition of chemical weapons, and adds brief comments on several other arms control issues--the proposed comprehensive test ban, restrictions on conventional weapons, the Seabed and Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaties, regional arms control, and recent U.S.-Soviet agreements aimed at reducing the risk of accidental war.

1473

Kanegis, Arthur, and Lindsay Richards. CHEMICAL/BIOLOGICAL WARFARE: THE BUDGET GIVES THE GAME AWAY. Nation, v. 213, Oct. 11, 1971: 337-340.
AP2.N2, v. 213

Hearings held to study the current military budget reveal that the present Army budget request for chemical and biological weapons is twice that asked for 1971. While the White House and the Pentagon have tried to create an impression that cutbacks are taking place, the real picture is one of increased procurement. Press reports have indicated that facilities for chemical and biological work are being phased out or converted, but "a brief survey of the major sites shows that in fact activity is being disguised and expanded." Some research, said now to be for defensive purposes, is very similar to offensive study. Thus the tactics and agents of germ warfare are regularly taught at Fort McClellan under the guise of planning defense. Similarly, the Army's latest chemical agent is a "binary weapon,"--two chemicals that are safe alone but lethal in combination. Using launchers already available in Vietnam the binary weapon could be used to retaliate in case of chemical attack.

1474

Meselson, Matthew. GAS WARFARE AND THE GENEVA PROTOCOL OF 1925. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 28, Feb. 1972: 33-37. illus.
TK9145.A84, v. 28

Statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, March 26, 1971.

Assesses the implications for the United States' future use of the riot gas CS. Meselson contends that the military value of CS is very low and that its use in warfare runs counter to attempts to prevent the proliferation of biological and lethal chemical weapons. He concludes that the United States should ratify the Geneva Protocol "in a manner that will allow [the United States] to support a broad interpretation of its scope to which all nations can agree."

1475
Pfeiffer, E. W. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN INDOCHINA AND THE USA RELATED TO THE MILITARY USES OF HERBICIDES. Scientific world, v. 15, no. 6, 1971: 20-23. illus. Q1.S8415, v. 15

"Presented by Professor Pfeiffer to the International Scientists' Conference on US Chemical Warfare in Vietnam which was held on the 12th to the 14th December 1970" and organized by the World Federation of Scientific Workers.

The chemical agents used by the United States in Vietnam have been true herbicides which not only defoliate but kill at the strengths used. They remain potent for long periods and may prove toxic to humans. Grave scientific concern has been expressed over the potential effects. Some agents have been shown to cause deaths and malformations in fetal hamsters and chick embryos and sickness among chemical workers. Studies indicate that herbicide warfare has reduced rubber yield, brought about the closing of small rubber plantations, and destroyed timber and many food crops. The U.S. military has prevented researchers from examining important information on herbicide use. Funds have been budgeted for further herbicide purchases. The Nixon administration would like to exclude tear gases and herbicides from the prohibitions of the Geneva Protocol. In August 1970, the Senate considered a measure banning herbicide procurement. The United States maintains stocks of biological agents and research funds are still being made available. Antichemical and antiherbicide warfare resolutions were adopted at the 1970 annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

1476
Rose, Steven. THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CBW. New perspectives, v. 1, Dec. 1971: 53-57. JX1901.N35, v. 1

The development of chemical and biological weapons is an example of the misapplication of science and technology to the destruction of human life. In Britain and the United States science and technology serve the deliberately violent needs of the military-industrial complex. Britain and the United States have renounced possession and manufacture of biological weapons not because biological weapons are immoral, but because of the enormous risks involved in their use. Since World War I chemical weapons have become increasingly diversified and injurious. The most recently employed chemical weapons, the defoliants used by the United States in Vietnam, not only upset the ecological balance but also weaken the human population through starvation and birth defects. In the future science and technology must be made to serve the people and not destroy them.

STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION

1477
Coffey, Joseph I. STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS AND EUROPEAN SECURITY. International affairs (London) v. 47, Oct. 1971: 692-707. JX1.I53, v. 47

The four types of arms control measures under consideration by the Soviet Union and the United States include limiting the numbers of strategic nuclear delivery vehicles, freezing qualitative improvements, and restricting antiballistic systems and the deployment of MIRVs. Evaluation of the four-part package indicates first that the "American objectives of maintaining an adequate capability to deter an all-out surprise attack, providing no incentive for the Soviet Union to strike in a crisis, and preventing the Russians from inflicting considerably greater damage than the Americans could inflict in a nuclear war" would be achieved and secondly that "the concerns of some Europeans about the credibility of the deterrent in the aftermath of an arms control agreement may be unfounded."

1478
Holst, Johan J. COMPARATIVE U.S. AND SOVIET DEPLOYMENTS, DOCTRINES, AND ARMS LIMITATION. [Chicago, University of Chicago, Center for Policy Study, 1971] 60 p. (An Occasional paper of the Center for Policy Study, the University of Chicago) UA23.H535

Outlines the development of the strategic capabilities of the Soviet Union and the United States since World War II and compares their present strategic doctrines with their positions at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. Holst suggests that if the talks should not result in a formal treaty, they might stimulate "the tacit and interdependent exercise of restraint" and be permanently instituted "as an important mechanism for the management and alleviation of the arms race."

1479
Lambeth, Benjamin S. DETERRENCE IN THE MIRV ERA. World politics, v. 24, Jan. 1972: 221-242. D839.W57, v. 24

The balance of terror has deprived nuclear weapons of their coercive utility and rendered any strategic advantage short of a first-strike capability a worthless instrument of foreign policy.

Together, these arguments suggest the deceptiveness of prescriptions for U.S. strategic superiority and the emptiness of fears that the Soviet Union may be striving toward a first-strike capability. Ironically, they also imply that there is little strategic reason for the superpowers to engage in arms limitation talks. However, there are several nonstrategic arguments (beside the economic one) that favor an arms limitation agreement: it could maintain a superpower dialog, "provide a welcome degree of psychic relief from the breathtaking pace of nuclear weapons competition which has heretofore dominated the nuclear age," and persuade the nuclear "threshold" countries that the United States and the Soviet Union are sincere in their desire to curb the arms race.

1480
Pugwash Working Group on Disarmament. REPORT OF WORKING GROUP 3--INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND FURTHER STEPS TOWARDS DISARMAMENT. Bulletin of peace proposals, v. 2, no. 4, 1971: 300.
JX1901.B83, v. 2

Excerpt from pages 7-8 of a mimeographed report prepared at the 21st Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, Sinaia, Romania, August 26-31, 1971.

Offers a "Specific Proposal for Tactical Nuclear Arms Limitation in Europe, designed to serve as a first approximation for further discussion." The proposal would prohibit any nuclear-weapon power from placing these armaments or their delivery systems on any soil other than its own. British and French nuclear weapons would be frozen at current levels and Soviet deployment of medium- and intermediate-range ballistic missiles would be limited to the number of British and French long-range missiles. Conventional NATO and Warsaw Pact forces would be reduced simultaneously, the ultimate end being the elimination of both military blocs.

1481
Scoville, Herbert. BEYOND SALT ONE. Foreign affairs, v. 50, Apr. 1972: 488-500.
D410.F6, v. 50

Predicts that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) will produce some limitations on ABMs, probably in terms of number and location, before President Nixon goes to Moscow. Scoville points out that agreement on offensive weapons, either land- or submarine-based, will be more difficult to achieve. He stresses the need for continual watchfulness and communication to prevent misunderstandings. Some desirable future steps include: restricting qualitative improvements in strategic weapons, studying antisubmarine warfare and its defense, and controlling the number of missile test firings, thus paving the way for a comprehensive test ban treaty. Elimination of some ICBMs would have a positive effect on world politics, if done without sacrificing deterrence. Scoville emphasizes that even a limited agreement at SALT "can mark the beginning of a new era in the nuclear weapons age."

1482
Scoville, Herbert. MORE, MORE, MORE WEAPONS. New republic, v. 166, Mar. 4, 1972: 14-16.
AP2.N624, v. 166

President Nixon's warning in the 1972 State of the World message that present Soviet strategic forces, with "certain qualitative improvements," could threaten U.S. land-based strategic missiles, meant that 300 SS-9 missiles, if equipped with multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRVs), could destroy much of America's Minuteman forces. Although this potential danger has long been understood, the administration had previously focused attention on the number of SS-9's and not on MIRV capability because the latter threat, more remote in time, would have weakened the justification for the Safeguard antimissile defense system (ABM). Preoccupation with the SS-9 led to U.S. insistence at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) for limits on both offensive and defensive missiles, while the Soviets pushed for an ABM limitation first. American SALT negotiators made no serious proposal to control MIRVs as their government began MIRV deployment. The assumed SS-9 threat failed to materialize as Soviet construction slowed. Although a Soviet MIRV system has not appeared, eventual Soviet development will probably immediately produce a system firing a minimum of six warheads that would pose a demonstrable threat to the U.S. deterrent. The aspect of U.S. SALT policy asking for an SS-9 limitation in exchange for the Safeguard system has been wrong. "The problem today, as it always has been, is to stop MIRVs so that these potentially destabilizing weapons do not become a part of the Soviet arsenal." Recognizing that it is probably too late for a MIRV ban, the administration is beginning work on the undersea long-range missile system, another round in the arms race. The present U.S. submarine deterrent, at least a generation ahead of comparable Soviet forces, is already more than sufficient. An ABM treaty will be a major step forward, but it should be used as a foundation for new limitations. A realistic evaluation of U.S. security requirements is in order.

1483
U.S. AND U.S.S.R. CONCLUDE SIXTH ROUND OF STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 66, Feb. 28, 1972: 278. JX232.A33, v. 66

Joint U.S.-Soviet communique released at Vienna, Austria, on Feb. 4, 1972, on the conclusion of the sixth round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. The meetings were devoted to "further consideration of issues relating to a treaty on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems and to an interim agreement on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive

arms." The delegations report that "progress was made on a number of issues," and "express their determination to continue their efforts to reach agreement."

REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

1484
Auer, Paul de. [EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE] Conférence pour la sécurité de l'Europe. Revue militaire générale; general military review, Nov. 1971: 514-520. U2.R48, 1971
Includes summaries in English and German.

A European security conference called under present conditions would allow the Soviet Union to confirm the status quo in Europe and thus discourage the East European satellite countries from seeking their independence. The West should obtain a declaration that the Brezhnev Doctrine is not applicable in Europe, seek the withdrawal of Soviet troops from East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary, and have the neutrality of these countries guaranteed by Western Europe and the United States. Until these concessions are met, the Western Europeans "would be digging their own grave" if they were to participate in a security conference.

1485
Bechtoldt, Heinrich. [BERLIN AGREEMENT AND SECURITY CONFERENCE] Berlin-Abkommen und Sicherheitskonferenz. Aussenpolitik, v. 23, Jan. 1972: 1-9. D839.A885, v. 23

Superimposed on the timetable for a European security conference are three sets of interdependent and cumulative conditions. The West German demand that a Berlin settlement be reached as a precondition for Bonn's submitting the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties for ratification met Moscow's counter-demand for ratification before Soviet approval of the Berlin accord. The final requirement was that the Berlin Agreement go into effect and the treaties be ratified as preconditions for multilateral preparation for the European security conference. The conference itself will have to involve more than declarations renouncing the use of force, which is the apparent Soviet goal. It will require guarantees and a reduction of forces in Europe. Mutual balanced force reduction must be discussed either as part of or parallel to a security conference. Another Soviet conference goal, that of dissolving the two blocs, is unrealistic since the Warsaw Pact states are bound to one another's defense by agreements outside the Pact. The NATO states are not similarly bound. The conference, therefore, must accept the realities of the current situation as a point of departure and still seek practical ways toward détente through the renunciation of force coupled with effective guarantees.

1486
Camps, Miriam. EUROPEAN UNIFICATION IN THE SEVENTIES. International affairs (London) v. 47, Oct. 1971: 671-678. JX1.I53, v. 47

If the European Community is to be relevant to the seventies it must respond to the changes that took place in the fifties and sixties in regard to the political-security setting, interstate and intrastate relations, and issues facing the Community. The response must take account of several factors: the end of bipolarity, the disappearance of the line between domestic and foreign problems, and the need for new solutions to the problems of the seventies. If Europe organized to meet these changes collectively it could play a substantial role in a multipolar world and function on a European level between the national and larger international level. However, "as functions that can now be handled more appropriately at the European, rather than national, level are transferred upwards, there should be a deliberate process of decentralization and a strengthening of local regional governments within the Community."

1487
CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE. Johan Galtung ed. with the assistance of Sverre Lodgaard. Oslo, Universitetsforlaget, 1970. 371 p. illus. (Peace research monographs. International peace research institute, no. 3) D1053.C58 1970
Scandinavian university books.
Text in English, French or German.
A research project organized by the International Peace Research Institute.
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--pt. 1. Analysis and recommendation, by Johan Galtung: Introduction. A theory of peaceful co-operation. An image of Europe. On the future of European co-operation. The role of Council of Europe. Regional security commissions: a proposal. The German problem: some perspectives. Summary and conclusion.--pt. 2. Belgian policy regarding cooperation in Europe, by Louis Colot. Britain and Eastern Europe, by Ian Taylor. Continuity and change in the European policy of France, by Jean Klein. Italy and Eastern Europe, by Paolo Calzini. Norway and the Eastern European countries, by Sverre Lodgaard. Austrian cooperation with the East in the context of its foreign policy, by Andreas Khol. Finnish foreign policy and cooperation with Europe, by Simone Alopaeus. Sweden and Eastern Europe, by Carl-Einer Stålvant. Switzerland and Eastern Europe, by Daniel Frei. Yugoslav foreign policy and cooperation with Europe, by Milan Šahović. The People's Republic of Bulgaria for peace and security in the Balkans, by Georgetta Grigorova. Czechoslovakia and Europe, by Alexander Ort. Hungary and some problems of European co-operation, by István Kende. Polish views on some problems of East-West co-operation in Europe, by Andrzej Towpik. The development of cooperation between the states of Europe: basis for peace and security in Europe, by Costin Murgescu.--pt. 3. Protocol from the Vienna Confer-

ence on European Peace and Security.--pt. 4. Appendix: Instructions to authors of national reports.

Reports the results of a research project on prospective patterns of European cooperation, coordinated by the International Peace Research Institute in Oslo for the Executive Board of the International Peace Research Association, which undertook the study at the request of a subcommittee on peace research of the Political Committee of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe. Part 1, written by Johan Galtung, director of the International Peace Research Institute, is based on almost 100 interviews with high-ranking foreign ministry officials in eighteen European countries and the United States and representatives of the secretariats of nine intergovernmental organizations. Galtung analyzes the current situation in Europe, evaluates prospects for greater cooperation, and recommends policies and programs for achieving this end. Part 2 is composed of analyses of individual European nations' policies and views "on how East-West co-operation should best be carried out, taking the country itself as a point of departure." Each report of the fifteen nations surveyed--Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, Hungary, Italy, Norway, Poland, Romania, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and Yugoslavia--was "prepared by researchers at institutes specializing in the study of foreign affairs, international relations or peace research" located in the respective countries. The appendix, part 4, reproduces the instructions to these authors. Part 3 summarizes discussion based on these national reports at the Vienna Conference on European Co-operation and Security, held on December 20-22, 1968, to which each author and a political figure from his country were invited.

1488

[DECLARATION CONCERNING PEACE, SECURITY AND COLLABORATION IN EUROPE] Deklaration über Frieden, Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa. Sowjetunion heute (Cologne) v. 17, Feb. 1972: 8-10.
DK266.A2S784, v. 17

German-language text of a declaration concerning peace and security in Europe issued by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact Organization following its meeting in Prague on Jan. 25 and 26, 1972. The declaration reviews recent political events in Europe, hailing in particular the Warsaw and Moscow Treaties and the Berlin Agreement. The conviction of the Warsaw Pact states that a regional security system must be elaborated at a European security conference is asserted. This system should be based on the following principles: inviolability of borders, renunciation of force, peaceful coexistence and good neighbor relations resting on national sovereignty and equality, independence, and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states. The document also condemns the "continuing American aggression" in Indochina.

1489

Douglas-Home, Sir Alec. OUR EUROPEAN DESTINY. London, Conservative Group for Europe, 1971. [2], 11 p.
HC241.25.G7D67

Contents.--Political implications.--Britain's foreign policy.--Vulnerable position.--European policy-making.--The question of sovereignty.--The balance of power.--Europe and the developing world.--Dangers of introversion.

Makes the case for Great Britain's entry into the European Economic Community. Douglas-Home emphasizes Britain's political need for Europe. He notes that with respect to future European security, Europe will have to assume the burden of its own defense which will necessitate more forms of cooperation among the West European states.

1490

Duchêne, François. THE FUTURE OF EUROPE: WAYS FORWARD. World today, v. 27, Nov. 1971: 457-462.
D410.W63, v. 27

The dialectic between a logic of peace and the logic of security in Europe "calls for a clear view of data which can change, and are changing, but will not do so overnight." One of these data is that the normalization of relations between the two blocs in Europe requires the acceptance of the fact that two different systems exist in the area. West Germany's Ostpolitik and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) have come about because they affirm the established political and military structure in Europe. A second datum is that peace in Europe is strong and any negotiations between the two blocs should work toward strengthening this peace. A case in point is the prospects for mutual balanced force reductions, which, in view of the disparity of firepower between the two alliances, should be based on functional and not numerical capabilities. Finally, the limitations of East-West economic cooperation originate less in political differences than in the limited economic compatibility of the two systems. This is not to say that East-West cooperation will not continue. Contact between the East and West will increase in the next decade, but it will be a slow and delicate process. Cooperation will depend on mutual confidence which will require, on the one hand, the maintenance of the security balance in Europe and, on the other, continuing political contact. SALT could contribute to this by providing continuous discussions between the United States and the Soviet Union, and thus "create constituencies in both countries interested in cooperation in broader fields."

1491

Eide, Asbjørn, and others. SUB-REGIONAL INTEGRATION VERSUS ALL-EUROPEAN SECURITY. Bulletin of peace proposals, v. 2, no. 4, 1971: 357-364.
JX1901.B83, v. 2

"Discussion at the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo," between Asbjørn Eide, Johan Galtung, Sverre Lodgaard, and Martin Säter, with Marek Thee as moderator.

Surveys the prospects for European integration and security in the immediate future. Galtung believes that the strong tendency toward integration at the subregional level (e.g., the European Economic Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) may proceed to the detriment of regional (all-European) cooperation. He feels that development of an independent West European nuclear deterrent will come about not because of East-West competition but because of the West European desire to achieve parity with the United States. Säter sees a trend toward all-European institutions as replacing the bloc system, but concedes that Western Europe could develop into a new superpower if the West German Ostpolitik is blocked. "Bonn seems to be heading for a solution on the all-European level, which would preclude the establishment of [a] supra-national West European defence community." Lodgaard envisions the rapid development of subregional institutions as reducing prospects for an all-European system. He sees little impetus for development of an integrated West European defense structure because of internal political opposition and the prospect of East-West negotiations reducing the need for building such a force. It will come as a consequence of increased cooperation and a normalized international situation, he believes. Eide speculates whether immediate negotiations could influence the Soviet Union to renounce the Brezhnev Doctrine in order to slow the pace of Western integration.

1492

[ELEMENTS OF AN ALL-EUROPEAN SECURITY SYSTEM] Elemente eines gesamteuropäischen Sicherheitssystems. Sowjetunion heute (Cologne) v. 16, Dec. 16, 1971: 20-23, 35-36. DK266.A2S784, v. 16

An exchange of views on European security among Soviet journalists and public personalities arranged by the Soviet monthly publication Mezhdunarodnaia zhizn' in September 1971. The 11 short essays of the article discuss from the Soviet viewpoint the immediacy of the security problem, the substance of Soviet policy on securing and maintaining the peace, the parameters of a European security system, the objective prerequisites for a system, the feasibility of a nonalined Europe, and the relationship of European security to international security.

1493

Frank, Paul. PROSPECTS FOR--AND CAUTIONS REGARDING--AN EAST-WEST CONFERENCE ON EUROPE. In Germany (Federal Republic, 1949-). Presse- und Informationsamt. Bulletin, v. 20, Jan. 18, 1972: 20-21. DD259.A35, v. 20

The European security conference is "the clearest visible reflection of Europe's desire for peace," but it would not be fruitful if the participants only confirm the division of Europe. Rather a European security conference must enhance the sense of security in Europe. The American presence is part of that security and with it, "we can enter upon the road towards détente and disarmament without jeopardizing our security." Therefore the Federal Republic thinks that the issue of mutual balanced force reductions should be discussed within the framework of this conference. Any unilateral, unbalanced withdrawal of forces is unacceptable. The same kind of united stand on the part of the Alliance members that was demonstrated in the four-power Berlin talks will be necessary for successful negotiations on force reductions.

1494

Germany (Federal Republic, 1949-). Bundestag. Wissenschaftliche Dienste. ["MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS (MBFR)"--MUTUAL BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS (SUMMER 1968-1971). SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY] "Mutual and balanced force reductions (MBFR)"--Beiderseitige ausgewogene Truppenreduzierungen (Sommer 1968-1971). Auswahlbibliographie. Bonn, 1971. 19, 2 p. (Its Bibliographien, Nr. 27) Z7161.G4, no. 27

Contents.--Bibliography of books and journals.--Newspaper material.--Printed material and minutes from meetings of the Bundestag.--Documents.

Selected bibliography of German and foreign literature dealing with mutual and balanced force reductions appearing in the period from the summer of 1968 through the summer of 1971.

1495

Grézer, Jacques O. [BETWEEN MBFR AND A EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE] Zwischen MBFR und Europäischer Sicherheitskonferenz. Neue Politik, v. 16, Dec. 18, 1971: 3-6. H5.N377, v. 16

Outlines earlier calls for a thinning out of NATO and Warsaw Pact forces and examines the current tug-of-war between the Soviet Union and NATO over mutual balanced force reductions (MBFR) and a European security conference. Moscow prefers to subordinate MBFR negotiations to the security conference, while NATO gives priority to MBFR as an initial step toward a security conference. Further, Moscow wants symmetrical reductions with the emphasis on foreign troops, meaning U.S. forces. The Soviets enjoy the advantage in this tug-of-war, Grézer asserts, because most NATO states are beginning to recognize European realities and to realize that the West no longer holds negotiating trumps. The Soviets are strengthened, on the other hand, by the expectation of partial American unilateral withdrawal before MBFR talks begin.

1496

Hadley, Guy. MOSCOW'S TROJAN HORSE: SOME REFLECTIONS ON A EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE. East West digest, v. 8, Feb. 1972: 150-155. N&CPR

The likelihood of reaching any meaningful agreement on European problems through a European security conference is negligible. The Soviet aim is to use the conference to obtain a stamp of approval for Soviet conquests in Eastern Europe and in the longer run to erode the Atlantic Alliance and the European Economic Community. The conference is a delusion because "the West has already gone to the limits of safety in seeking agreement." Any accord on European security acceptable to the West will require substantial military concessions from the Soviet Union, the more powerful of the two major antagonists. Since it is extremely unlikely that the Soviet Union will make such concessions or acquiesce to Western requests for adequate verification and control, the answer to European security problems does not lie in a security conference or in mutual balanced force reduction negotiations. Rather the answer lies in greater Western solidarity and a continuing "effort to expand peaceful Western contacts and exchanges with the Warsaw Pact countries, since it is in the end this struggle for the minds of men which will prove decisive."

1497

Hänisch, Werner, and Joachim Krüger. [RENUNCIATION OF FORCE AND EUROPEAN SECURITY] Gewaltverzicht und europäische Sicherheit. Berlin, Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1971. 89 p. illus. (Blickpunkt Weltpolitik)
D1058.H27

Contents.--pt. 1. Renunciation of force--component of the worldwide peace program of the Socialist states: The initiative of the XXIV Party Congress of the CPSU. Renunciation of force--a basic prerequisite for carrying out peaceful coexistence. The contents of the universal principle of force renunciation.--pt. 2. The Soviet Union--leader in the struggle for the renunciation of force: Proscription of aggression and renunciation of force--elements of Lenin's foreign policy. Experiences of nonaggression treaties and other projects of the Soviet Union in the twenties and thirties.--pt. 3. Force renunciation as a firm component of the policy of the Socialist states for guaranteeing peace and security in Europe 1945 to 1965: The consistent realization of the determinations of the anti-Hitler coalition--chief goal of the U.S.S.R. and its allies in the struggle for a durable peace in Europe in the postwar years. The initiatives of the Socialist states for obtaining a renunciation of force in Europe in the latter half of the fifties. The struggle of the Socialist states for a renunciation of force in the first half of the sixties. The renunciation of force as an essential element in the policy of friendly coexistence by the GDR toward the FRG.--pt. 4. Successes in the struggle of the Warsaw Pact states for a basic turn toward détente and for peace in Europe, for attaining a renunciation of force: Renunciation of force--component of the Warsaw Pact program for improving the climate in Europe. The Treaties of Moscow and Warsaw and the renunciation of force. Today's enemies of a European renunciation of force.--pt. 5. Bi- and multilateral renunciation of force agreements between the Socialist and the Capitalist states strengthen peace and security in Europe.--Footnotes.

Communist argument for adoption of an all-European renunciation-of-force agreement at the proposed European security conference.

1498

Hirschfeld, Oswald. [ON THE DIFFICULTY OF MAKING PEACE MORE SECURE] Über die Schwierigkeit, den Frieden sicherer zu machen. Wehr und Wirtschaft, v. 15, Nov. 1971: 522.
U3.W38, v. 15

The desire of the NATO states to make peace more secure through mutual balanced force reductions (MBFR) entails many difficulties. Entry into MBFR negotiations presupposes that each side will display the same willingness for give-and-take, including agreement on controls to determine whether limitations in one area are not being compensated for in another. Perhaps even more difficult to resolve will be a definition of what "balanced" actually means. A simple quantitative force reduction will not suffice because of structural differences in NATO and the Warsaw Pact forces and the geographic asymmetry. Since the Soviet Union does not acknowledge the defensive character of NATO, in any MBFR agreement NATO is forced to sacrifice the advantage of initiative. Without that option NATO must continue to rely on the concept of flexible response. Whatever the accord reached on tactical nuclear weapons, it is clear that these weapons must not be totally eliminated if a credible defensive set-up is to survive. The MBFR talks will be exceedingly difficult, all the more since France's withdrawal from the military side of NATO.

1499

Hoffman[n], Stanley. THOUGHTS ON EUROPEAN SECURITY. Bulletin of peace proposals, v. 2, no. 4, 1971: 302. JX1901.B83, v. 2

Excerpts from pages 1-7 of a mimeographed paper presented at the 21st Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, Sinaia, Romania, August 1971.

Examines the possible contributions of a European security conference to security against the use of force, the reunification of Eastern and Western Europe, and independence from the superpowers. Hoffmann feels that a security conference would compromise the goals of independence and reunification if it were held merely to "obtain the recognition by all of the participants of the European status quo and of Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe [and to] legitimize the asymmetrical division of Europe in exchange for a mere pan-European appearance." To be useful, the conference should be organized to allow true diplomatic leeway for all and lead to a renunciation of the Brezhnev Doctrine and to procedures for conflict management and resolution.

1500
Klefisch, Johannes W. [THE ART OF SECURING PEACE NOW. THOUGHTS ON A EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE] Die Kunst der Friedenssicherung jetzt. Gedanken zu einer Europäischen Sicherheitskonferenz. Frankfurter Hefte, Zeitschrift für Kultur und Politik, v. 26, Dec. 1971: 903-912.
AP30.F555, v. 26

Examines European security in terms of the Soviet and American mutual deterrent, the French force de frappe, troop withdrawals and reductions, and nuclear-free zones, finding that none of these methods assures that Europe will not become the target or cause of a nuclear exchange. Klefisch recommends the conclusion of an all-European pact for a system of supranational neutrality, or Land Peace as the similar medieval institution was known, the aims of which would be limited to noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states, a common defense, and arms limitations. On inauguration of the system, Klefisch explains, the NATO and Warsaw Pact members would withdraw from their respective organizations to recognize the neutrality of the territory politically and to guarantee it militarily.

1501
Kyle, Keith. TEA AT HELSINKI. Listener, v. 86, Dec. 23, 1971: 860-861.
AP4.L4165, v. 86

The proposed European security conference is becoming popular. Consequently, NATO would like to make it clear that its own balanced force reduction initiative was broached as early as 1968. Brezhnev has called on the Western Allies to "taste the wine" of mutual force reductions, and Finland has invited diplomats in Helsinki to an "ambassadors' salon" to discuss preparations for a conference over tea. The North Atlantic Council appointed former Secretary-General Brosio to sample Moscow's vintage and report back. Chancellor Brandt, who must maneuver the Soviet and Polish treaties through the Reichstag before the Soviets finally sign the Berlin Quadripartite Agreement, would rather not have his allies sipping tea with the East Germans in advance of ratification. Largely indifferent to this plight, the French were all for the multilateral salon, while the United States and Britain came out for bilateral salons to help the Germans. Belgium then suggested the compromise of bilateral tea parties multilaterally conducted by the Finnish foreign minister, who "would dish out tea to each of the diplomats popping in quick succession in and out of the salon through the kind of doors that ensure that they would never meet." This suggestion led to a Western communique promising work on multilateral preparations when feasible, with nods of agreement toward the Finnish idea. Alas, no Russian invitation to the Council's representative has been forthcoming. "So while there will undoubtedly be tea in Helsinki for all--in turn, initially, and only later together--no one yet knows whether there will ever be wine in Moscow for Signor Brosio."

1502
Matthiessen, Gunnar. [ON THE MULTILATERAL PREPARATION OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE] Zur multilateralen Vorbereitung der Europäischen Sicherheitskonferenz. Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik, v. 16, Nov. 1971: 1131-1136.
D839.B57, v. 16

Urges all the groups and social forces in West Germany that have recognized the necessity of solving European problems on the basis of peaceful coexistence and collaboration to lobby actively for the formulation of a policy of détente. Conditions are now positive for the multilateral preparations of the European security conference, Matthiessen states, mentioning in particular the Berlin Agreement and the Soviet Union's willingness to discuss troop reductions. Interested circles should now begin discussions on the requirements for a European security system. In the process they need not lose sight of such current political questions as the urgency for a speedy ratification of the Treaties of Moscow and Warsaw, the entry of both German states into the United Nations, and disarmament talks. Even if some of the governments and political parties are unwilling to move forward to a security conference, popular support can be effective in its realization.

1503
Palmer, Michael, and David Thomas. ARMS CONTROL AND THE MEDITERRANEAN. World today, v. 27, Nov. 1971: 495-502. D410.W63, v. 27

An arms control agreement limiting the U.S. and Soviet naval presence in the Mediterranean must satisfy the principles relating to: restriction of force-area objects, verification, reversibility, gradualism in application, and negotiability. These principles have been implicitly recognized in past arms limitation agreements like the Nonproliferation Treaty, the Outer Space Treaty, and the Limited Test Ban Treaty. To incorporate these principles into an agreement, the size, not the mere existence, of the two fleets in the area must be the primary consideration in a limitation agreement. An agreement can be verified through the use of reconnaissance aircraft and satellite photography as well as through observation of the movement of ships and submarines in and out of the area through the Turkish Straits and, when it reopens, the Suez Canal. Flexibility and reversibility can be maintained by agreeing to a notification system, ceiling levels, and a general clause permitting either party to exceed the levels if "circumstances required." This would free the other party to make a "balancing" adjustment beyond its ceiling level. An arms control agreement in the Mediterranean could reduce the risk of mutual misperceptions and provide the superpowers with the opportunity of reducing their politico-military involvement in a tension-filled arena without losing face.

1504
PEACE AND SECURITY FOR EUROPE: "NEW TIMES" FORUM. New times, no. 7, Feb. 1972: 18-21. illus.
D839.N483, 1972

Essays by Ramond Guyot of France and Gerd Ruge of West Germany on progress towards the convocation of a European security conference. Guyot praises steps taken by the Soviet Union and its Socialist followers to develop a spirit of European cooperation and asserts that the Nixon administration seeks to delay a meeting in 1972. Ruge says that a single conference of government heads is insufficient to deal with the multitude of complex problems involved. He suggests two additional measures to supplement the heads of government conference and to overcome distrust and promote mutual understanding: a conference on mutual arms reduction conducted in the manner of the United Nations and carried out over a period of time by permanent delegates and a series of meetings to examine varied other questions including trade, tariffs, industrial projects, environmental problems, and tourism.

1505
Penescu, Corneliu. THE CONFERENCE FOR EUROPEAN SECURITY AND COOPERATION--EXPRESSION OF THE INTERESTS OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE CONTINENT. Bulletin of peace proposals, v. 2, no. 4, 1971: 303.
JX1901.B83, v. 2

Excerpts from pages 2-10 of a mimeographed paper presented at the 21st Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, Sinaia, Romania, August 1971.

Expresses the belief that the Europe of the future "should be an area of sovereign states, equal in rights and independent. . . ." Penescu feels that no one state or grouping of states should decide policy for the continent, but that all should participate equally. The success of a European security conference will depend on the degree to which the participants agree in fulfilling the principle of the sovereign equality of states. Penescu believes that the concept of the renunciation of the use of force needs to be strengthened to insure its applicability to the reality of present European conditions.

1506
Pick, Otto. GERMANY AND THE SECURITY OF EUROPE. World survey, no. 35, Nov. 1971: 11-18.
N&CPR

"The existence of two German states and their mutual relationship, as well as their position in the respective alliance systems of which they are part, have a direct bearing on the issue of security in Europe and on the global balance of power." West Germany's deliberate isolation from the East could not last. An indispensable component of the Western defense and economic structures, West Germany has begun pursuing a foreign policy commensurate with this status. "Western détente policies have encouraged the Federal Republic to initiate its own détente policy, and Bonn's Ostpolitik now makes a significant contribution to the general relaxation of tension in both halves of Europe." For its part, East Germany has begun following a status quo policy which has influenced the Soviet Union, as the Czech intervention makes clear. Consideration of mutual balanced force reductions (MBFR) must begin with the two Germanys, where the NATO and Warsaw Treaty forces are in the most direct confrontation. Soviet strategic doctrine holds East Germany absolutely essential. Foreseeing no immediate changes in the European balance, the Soviet Union desires a European security conference for securing the status quo in Eastern Europe. It is interested in MBFR because of the opportunity to save on manpower and funds and to devote more attention to its China problem. MBFR will affect the relationship between East and West Germany fundamentally because it will be linked to a general European security agreement which by legitimizing the status quo makes the German division official. The old West German policies of both reunification and Western integration were irreconcilable. Bonn's realistic new approach, which it alone could initiate, stands a good chance of becoming the basis for a European security agreement.

1507
Pollard, Vincent. MEETING WHOSE NEED? Far Eastern economic review, v. 73, Sept. 18, 1971: 25-26.
HC411.F18, v. 73

Traces the development since 1961 of Southeast Asian regional cooperation in relation to the U.S. strategy of containment, counterinsurgency and Vietnamization and whether such cooperation makes "the region more susceptible to penetration by the US and other industrialised states" or leads to "genuine expressions of Asian nationalism in the less-developed countries."

1508
Pugwash Working Group on European Security Problems. REPORT OF WORKING GROUP 1--EUROPEAN SECURITY PROBLEMS. Bulletin of peace proposals, v. 2, no. 4, 1971: 305. JX1901.B83, v. 2

Excerpts from pages 1-4 of a mimeographed report prepared at the 21st Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, Sinaia, Romania, August 26-31, 1971.

Proposes objectives for negotiation at a European security conference. These include renunciation of the use of force, noninterference in internal affairs, recognition of existing territorial configurations, intra-European economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation and exchange, and establishment of an international organ to further political cooperation. Long-range security and economic goals that would end in the elimination of military blocs and trade barriers are also proposed.

1509
Rehm, Walter. [SECURITY THROUGH CONFERENCES?] Sicherheit durch Konferenzen? Wehrkunde, v. 20, Dec. 1971: 629-632.
U3.W396, v. 20

Soviet and Eastern European initiatives for a European security conference have met varied response from the NATO capitals despite the unanimity reflected in NATO declarations. The initial negative attitude of the American Government has been modified only to the extent that Washington sees the conference as an opportunity for possible arms control agreements. The British Government's scepticism is heightened by the recent expulsion from Britain of scores of Soviet citizens for "security reasons." France and the other European NATO states generally support the security conference idea. The Eastern European states, with the exception of the German Democratic Republic, see the conference as an opportunity to expand their area of political maneuver. Soviet motives probably include such goals as ratification of the status quo as a sort of ersatz peace treaty for Europe, protection of the Russian west flank in view of possible trouble with China, and easing of the financial burden of troop support in Eastern Europe. The offensive motives of the Soviet Union must not be overlooked, for they include the elimination of NATO and the American presence in Europe. As Manlio Brosio once indicated, a European security conference could deliver all of Europe into a Soviet-dominated security system. If a conference were held, it is doubtful that unanimity of interpretation over such terms as "renunciation of force" and "security" in light of Communist goals and the Brezhnev Doctrine would be possible. The apprehension that Brosio expressed seems not unwarranted.

1510
Reich, Utz-Peter. [THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE; A THEORETICAL GAME EXPERIMENT] Die europäische Sicherheitskonferenz; ein spieltheoretisches Experiment. Mit einem Nachwort von Gernot Böhme. München, C. Hanser, 1971. 164 p. illus.
JX1979.R45
Bibliography: p. [149]-151.

Contents.--Introduction.--A segment of the game theory.--Criticism of previous endeavors.--Game plan for the "European Security Conference."--Principles for the application of game theory in foreign policy.--Appendix I: Participants in the "European Security Conference" game plan.--Appendix II: Inventory of statements.--Appendix III: Protocol of the afternoon session of the Great Britain group.--Appendix IV: Interview with GDR [German Democratic Republic] player before the opening of the conference.--Appendix V: Conference propositions.--Bibliography.--Epilog: Game theory and human existence, by Gernot Böhme.

Endeavors to clarify the basic structure of the conflicting interests inherent in a European security conference by means of game theory. Reich intends this study as a serious analysis of the proposed conference (and not merely as an illustration of the operation of game theory) that will reduce the uncertainties over the proposed conference and promote a constructive representation of the interests of the Federal Republic.

1511
Schuler, Ernst. [PROBLEMS OF PEACE] Probleme des Friedens. Allgemeine schweizerische Militärzeitschrift, v. 137, Nov. 1971: 743-745.
U3.A43, v. 137

There are four major problems challenging peace in the world: the disparity of resources between the developed countries and the Third World, the two competing socioeconomic systems, the danger of nuclear war, and the increasing degeneration of culture. Of these, the most serious and imminent is the threat of nuclear war. A strategic nuclear exchange is, however, not very probable because of the destruction sure to be brought down on both perpetrating parties. A local nuclear war in Europe is more probable because the two superpowers would not themselves be the direct victims but a limited nuclear war would not be restricted to just the necessary destruction but would increase to meet the strategic need. The greatest danger of war, nuclear or conventional, derives from political weakness rather than military unpreparedness; namely, the development of a political crisis in the Middle East, North Africa, or even in France or Italy, in which left-wing radicals call for outside help from the Soviet Union. The best defense against this eventuality is the kind of political strength that would result from European confederation. The political strength thus gained would compensate for the American military strength lost.

1512
Segal, Aaron. WHOSE LAKE IS THE MEDITERRANEAN? War/peace report, v. 11, Dec. 1971: 14-16. illus.
JX1901.W38, v. 11

The Mediterranean has always been an area of conflict, with diverse peoples living closely together who often retain traditional enmities. Arab nationalism, the fractious nature of the Arab States, and European and Soviet desires for a role in the area all contribute to the strong impulse toward conflict. Control of the Mediterranean is crucial because of its strategic relation to Europe and the dependence of Europe on oil from the Arab States. Europe's need for cheap foreign labor from the Mediterranean and the southern Mediterranean's need for European tourist dollars add to the region's importance and its potential for conflict. Tunisia has proposed total neutralization of the Mediterranean, prohibiting all non-Mediterranean powers from injecting forces into the region. France agrees, for it would like to dominate the Mediterranean. A comprehensive Soviet-U.S. settlement is unlikely, but limited, specific agreements are probable. Regional cooperation among North African states has been suggested, but little has come of such proposals. "The prospect then is for a Mediterranean which continues to be everyone's lake."

1513
Sokolov, IA. A. SOME POINTS ON EUROPEAN SECURITY AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN EUROPE. Bulletin of

peace proposals, v. 2, no. 4, 1971: 304.
JX1901.B83, v. 2

Excerpts from pages 1-3 of a mimeographed paper presented at the 21st Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, Sinaia, Romania, August 1971.

Evaluates the possible benefits of all-European economic cooperation. Sokolov points out that economic cooperation and the resolution of European security problems are related, for economic cooperation needs a healthy international framework in which to function and European security will be stabilized properly only through growing economic cooperation. He thinks that European economic cooperation will help eliminate the "technological gap" and benefit both Eastern and Western Europe, but because "the main obstacles to movement in this direction are now political" mutual trust must be established through a European security system.

1514
[TROOP REDUCTION IN EAST AND WEST. MBFR--A FOUR-LETTER TRAP?] Truppenabbau in Ost und West. MBFR--vier Buchstaben eine Falle? Europäische Begegnung, v. 12, Jan. 1972: 57-58. illus.
AP30.E78, v. 12

The zeal with which the Soviet Union pursues mutual balanced force reductions (MBFR) underlines the benefits that Moscow expects from MBFR arrangements. In the final analysis geography is on the Soviet side, but even if Moscow were to put aside the advantage of the Atlantic Ocean, it still can assess the time as ripe for promoting MBFR. The military balance has already tipped in favor of the Soviets as a result of France's withdrawal from NATO, the assignment of American combat troops to Vietnam, the reduced ratio of NATO members' military budgets to the gross national products, and the disintegrating morale of Western forces. The Soviets tirelessly promote MBFR by peddling from capital to capital "reduction models" exchanging so-and-so many demilitarized kilometers for the disbanding of this or that offensively positioned armored unit. Geography, however, is the key to understanding the sudden if belated Soviet interest in MBFR. The vehicle for MBFR negotiations is--in the Soviet view--the proposed European security conference or the institutions it may establish to settle such delicate questions as the American intermediate-range missiles positioned in Western Europe. "The moment the last GI leaves the continent, America's former partners will be forced to rely on the good behavior and treaty fidelity of their mighty neighbor, the Soviet Union."

1515
Voslenski, M. S. SOME THOUGHTS ON EUROPEAN SECURITY. Bulletin of peace proposals, v. 2, no. 4, 1971: 301. JX1901.B83, v. 2

Excerpt from pages 3-4 of a mimeographed paper presented at the 21st Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, Sinaia, Romania, August 1971.

Outlines the principles for establishment of a regional collective security agreement in Europe maintained by an institutionalized European Security Council. The principles proposed include peaceful coexistence, noninterference, renunciation of force, inviolability of existing borders, renunciation of territorial claims, normalization of relations among all states, reduction of domestic and foreign armaments and force levels, elimination of foreign military bases and military blocs, economic cooperation, cultural and scientific exchange, prohibition of fascist, racist, and revanchist propaganda, and elimination of European-based subversive activities directed at any other European state.

1516
Weber, Jürgen. [THE OSTPOLITIK OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE IS CHANGING] Die Ostpolitik des Europarats im Wandel. Europa-Archiv, v. 26, Dec. 25, 1971: 871-878. D839.E86, v. 26

Although the Secretary General of the Council of Europe recently called upon Eastern Europe to change its attitude toward the Strasbourg organization and to take part in a program of technical cooperation, it is doubtful whether the Eastern European states will hasten to accept the invitation. They remember that the Council of Europe long refused to deal with them and sought to maintain an organization more representative of Western democracy than of European geography. Nonetheless, the Council has been developing its own détente policy vis-a-vis Eastern Europe. Apparently it has developed the necessary flexibility to distinguish between technical cooperation and mutual parliamentary activity, the latter still being denied to the Communist states. The new policy has not yet achieved any significant results, although there have been several international professionally-oriented seminars attended by some Eastern states. The present decade will decide whether the Council of Europe will become an obsolete political instrument, which failed--or rather was never used--as a vehicle of integration, or the focal point for European-wide cooperation and coordination.

1517
Whitt, Darnell M. THE POLITICS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY: ONE AMERICAN'S PERSPECTIVE. World survey, no. 35, Nov. 1971: 1-11.
N&CPR

The West stands to gain more from the reality of détente, while the East benefits more from its appearances, so "the continuing tactical problem for the West is to find ways to ensure that the political realities of détente diplomacy accompany the appearances of long-term change in the problem of European security; appearances must not outrun realities." In the short run, the West should work

to foster practical cooperation with the East. NATO should take the initiative with a workable proposal for phased mutual balanced force reductions (MBFR), while the United States continues working for meaningful limitations at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. West Germany's Ostpolitik should be encouraged, but basic allied interests in Berlin must be upheld and the status quo of the two Germanys ought to be put on an all-German relationship to the maximum feasible extent. In exchange, the West could ask for a European security conference on substantive issues and a comprehensive agreement on trade, cooperation, and exchange. A Western initiative on environmental cooperation might become an instrument for progress in other areas. Thus the recommended Western policy consists of "a conservative realism in substance, and a procedural forward posture of taking the initiative." This course offers the best chance for success with the least risk. Given the basic nature of the two societies and the tempo of technological and demographic change, a security conference will not be able to resolve all East-West issues with any finality. The basic division of Europe will persist, but at reduced levels of expense and tension.

1518
Wieck, Hans-Georg. [PERSPECTIVES FOR MBFR IN EUROPE] Perspektiven für MBFR in Europa. Aussenpolitik, v. 22, Nov. 1971: 641-645.
D839.A885, v. 22

Sketches Manlio Brosio's mission of sounding out the attitudes of the Warsaw Pact states on mutual balanced force reduction (MBFR), delineates the area for the proposed reduction, and outlines the negotiating goals and military aspects of MBFR. Wieck asserts that MBFR could serve as both a means to, and goal of, European détente providing the precarious balance of power is not upset. A reduction of military forces would free resources for other priorities at no expense to the security of either side, he continues, adding that the formula for MBFR must take into account current Soviet geographic and quantitative advantages.

1519
Winiewicz, Jozef. [THE POLISH POSITION ON PROBLEMS OF EUROPEAN SECURITY] Der polnische Standpunkt zu Problemen der europäischen Sicherheit. Europa-Archiv, v. 26, Dec. 25, 1971: 847-858.
D839.E86, v. 26

Sensitive to history and to the suffering visited upon the Polish people, Poland is particularly concerned with the inviolability of its frontiers. The conclusion of the treaty with the Federal Republic of Germany in regard to these frontiers could be a milestone on the road to general European security, but ratification of the treaty will be the test of Bonn's sincerity. Poland vigorously supports the earliest possible convocation of a European conference on security and collaboration without any prior conditions. A treaty on security and collaboration in the Polish view should encompass the following points: renunciation of force, respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty, independence, and existing state frontiers, recognition of the status of neutral and nonalined states, establishment of a consultative mechanism to be invoked whenever the peace and security of Europe are threatened, economic, scientific, technical, and cultural cooperation, and the setting up of a partial, regional disarmament program, possibly favorably influenced by a successful outcome of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. Poland has long taken an active interest in regional disarmament, early advocating a nuclear-free zone as a first step in a disarmament program that would later include conventional forces.

1520
Wördehoff, Bernhard. [POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITS OF A EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE] Eine europäische Sicherheitskonferenz: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen. Revue militaire générale; general military review, Nov. 1971: 564-582.
U2.R48, 1971
Includes summaries in French and English.

Outlines the possibilities and the limits of a European security conference, the conditions stipulated by the West for such a conference, and what the East and West blocs hope to achieve during the negotiations. Wördehoff contends that the East wants to use the conference to undermine the influence of NATO and to drive the United States out of Europe as well as to obtain legal recognition of the intervention in Czechoslovakia. He concludes with a review of the question of mutual balanced force reduction, calling it less a technical than a political problem.

1521
Zeller, Willy. EUROPE--A VIABLE NEW POWER? Swiss review of world affairs, v. 21, Feb. 1972: 2-3.
D839.S9, v. 21

With ten members, the European Economic Community will have an economic potential that could make it a great power center acting as a bulwark of international peace and stability. In this capacity, Europe's ability to act internally and externally will be the responsibility of national governments which will maintain their sovereignty and interests while working toward the goal of a European "confederation of states." The idea of a "single voice of Europe" is fading, especially in France which, according to French Foreign Minister Maurice Schumann, places "the conception of national independence above everything." Most probably Europe's future will lie not in a "United States of Europe" but in a "United Europe of States."

SPECIAL ENVIRONMENTS

1522
Burke, William T. OCEAN SCIENCES, TECHNOLOGY, AND THE FUTURE INTERNATIONAL LAW OF THE SEA. In Black, Cyril E., and Richard A. Falk, comps. The future of the international legal order. Volume

II: Wealth and resources. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1970: 183-264.
JX3091.F8, v. 2

Includes bibliographical footnotes.

"This chapter was originally published in January 1966, as a part of the Pamphlet Series, The Social Science Program of the Mershon Center for Education in National Security, Ohio State University, and is reprinted here with the permission of the Ohio State University Press. The text has been slightly modified, the footnotes expanded and up-dated, and an Addendum appended."

Surveys the problems that developing new technologies can be expected to create in international interaction on the ocean and seabed in the areas of animal and mineral resource exploitation, military uses, and territoriality, and outlines the legal devices which might be used to resolve ensuing controversies. In an addendum written in October 1969, Burke updates the material in the preceding section, originally completed in September 1965.

1523
[Galloway, Eilene, comp.] INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN OUTER SPACE: A SYMPOSIUM. Prepared for the Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, United States Senate. Ninety-second Congress, first session. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 732 p. illus. (Senate document, no. 92-57) DLC

Contents.--Purpose and scope of the symposium, by Clinton P. Anderson.--The United States and international space cooperation.--The United Nations and outer space.--Intergovernmental international organizations.--International scientific community and professional associations.--U.S. foreign relations and the future of international space cooperation.--Appendices.--Index.

Summarizes developments by U.S. Government agencies, international organizations, and national and international professional organizations in cooperative international utilization of outer space for peaceful purposes. In discussing arms control and disarmament measures, Daniel Brown, public information officer of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) surveys the policies and achievements of the ACDA, including the 1967 Outer Space Treaty, verification of arms control agreements through space technology, and the 1971 Soviet-U.S. Direct Communications Link Improvement Agreement providing a multiterminal, satellite-circuited "Hot Line." Peter S. Thacher of the U.S. United Nations Mission reviews the history of the United Nations' role and concludes that "the collective success of governments working at the U.N. to prevent the arms race from extending into outer space demonstrates the utility of that institution."

1524
Irwin, John N. DEPARTMENT URGES SENATE APPROVAL OF SEABED ARMS CONTROL TREATY. In U.S. Dept. of State. Department of State bulletin, v. 66, Mar. 6, 1972: 309-310.
JX232.A33, v. 66

Statement before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations urging Senate consent to the Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof. The treaty, "while a modest step in the arms control field, is unquestionably a worthwhile accomplishment," a part of a cumulative process and a developing structure of arms control agreements. It "will help prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction to a new environment of our planet and will help reduce the possibility of exploiting that environment for military gain." Altogether, it "represents a positive, practical step, albeit a limited one, toward helping to preserve this new seabed environment for the benefit of mankind."

1525
Knauss, John A. FACTORS INFLUENCING A U.S. POSITION IN A FUTURE LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE. [Kingston, Law of the Sea Institute, University of Rhode Island, 1971] 30 l. (Law of the Sea Institute. Occasional paper no. 10)
JX4419.K5

Includes bibliographical references.

Partial contents.--Department of Defense.--Fishing industry.--Mineral industry.--Transportation.--Marine science.--Intelligence.--Conservation and pollution--long-term U.S. interests.--Elements of a possible U.S. position.

Indicates the issues that might shape the U.S. position in a future law of the sea conference, focusing on the regimes of the high seas and the territorial sea and contiguous zone, conservation of the ocean resources, and the preservation of the marine environment. Knauss also outlines the regulations that should remain in force after the development of a U.S. position. He notes that military security plays the most important role in the attempt to develop the U.S. position and advocates the continued freedom of movement for ships of war, including submarines, on the high seas. In addition, he calls for more scientific research and giving high seas status to some portion of international straits and narrow seas insofar as the movement of warships is concerned.

1526
Padelford, Norman J., and Jerry E. Cook, comps. NEW DIMENSIONS OF U.S. MARINE POLICY. Cambridge, Massachusettts [sic] Institute of Technology, Sea Grant Project Office [1971] 250 p. illus. ([Ocean engineering series, 7]) (Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Sea Grant Project Office. Report no. MITSG 71-5)
KF5568.P28

Includes bibliographical references.

"Massachusetts Institute of Technology. National Sea Grant Program. Sea grant project GH-88."

Partial contents.--The international seabed area: Introductory note. United States policy for the seabeds; statement of President Nixon, 1970. Summary of draft convention on international seabed area; U.S. working paper, 1970. Note regarding senatorial views on draft proposal. Treaty to prohibit emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on seabeds beyond territorial waters; U.S.-U.S.S.R. joint initiative, 1970. U.N. General Assembly declaration of principles governing seabed beyond national jurisdiction, 1970. U.N. General Assembly resolution for convening conference on law of the sea in 1973, 1970.--Organizing the national oceanic administration: Introductory note. Mobilizing to use the seas; report of the President's Task Force on Oceanography, 1970. President's message to the Congress on establishment of National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, 1970. Executive order establishing NOAA, 1970.

Reprints statements, documents, and reports on U.S. ocean and seabed policy since 1969 to serve as "a complement" to Padelford's earlier collection, Public Policy for the Seas (see the preceding annotation).

1527
Padelford, Norman J., comp. PUBLIC POLICY FOR THE SEAS. [Rev. ed.] Cambridge, M.I.T. Press [1970] 338 p. illus. ([Ocean engineering series, 1])
KF5568.P3 1970
Includes bibliographical references.

Partial contents.--Models for the future: Introductory note. Antarctic Treaty, 1959. Treaty Governing Exploration of Outer Space, 1966. Maltese proposal for declaration and treaty reserving seabed and ocean floor for peaceful purposes, 1967. Statement by United States Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg to United Nations on reservation of seabed and ocean floor, 1967. United States draft resolution of principles for deep ocean floor, 1968. United Nations resolution establishing a committee on peaceful uses of seabeds, 1968. United Nations resolution for study of machinery on use of resources of sea-bed, 1968. United Nations resolution endorsing international decade of ocean exploration, 1968. United States-Soviet Union joint draft treaty banning nuclear weapons on ocean floor, 1969.--Political process and the future of national ocean policy: Introductory note. Effective use of the sea; report of panel on oceanography, President's Science Advisory Committee, 1966. International decade of ocean exploration; message of President Lyndon B. Johnson, 1968. The sea: our last unexplored frontier; statement by Richard M. Nixon, 1968.

Assembles sources, documents, and cases on U.S. policy toward the ocean and seabed. Padelford feels that "with pressures mounting for creation of a new regime of the seas, it may be pertinent to consider the Antarctic and Outer Space Treaties as limited models."

1528
Ross, David F. WHO OWNS THE OCEANS? FISHY BUSINESS. New republic, v. 166, Jan. 1 & 8, 1972: 19-21. AP2.N624, v. 166

Declaring sovereignty over 200 miles of ocean from its coast, Ecuador has been seizing American-owned fishing boats 150 miles off-shore for failing to purchase licenses. The State Department has resisted domestic pressure to impose sanctions, but has also encouraged the seizures by asking the fishing boats not to register and paying fines for them. "The issue which Ecuador has raised is not the freedom of the high seas, but the boundary of the high seas, and this is an issue which urgently needs to be raised and resettled, for a variety of reasons including not only national defense but also environmental protection and natural resource development and conservation." The United States claims only a three-mile limit, but challenges unidentified aircraft long before they reach this point, limiting freedom of movement over international waters. Pollution of the ocean is becoming a serious problem and rapid advances in technology are making exploitation of ocean resources feasible. The concept of the unrestrained liberty of high seas can mean the extinction of fish species, and Ecuador could not be expected to be inactive until the United Nations formulates a new convention. Previous Geneva conferences have been unable to define new territorial limits. If a formula can be devised at the coming 1973 conference, "it will be one which either establishes effective international regulation of the use of the resources of the high seas, or recognizes much broader jurisdiction on the part of maritime nations than the United States has heretofore been willing to acknowledge."

1529
Symposium on the International Regime of the Sea-bed, Rome, 1969. SYMPOSIUM ON THE INTERNATIONAL REGIME OF THE SEA-BED. Sponsored by the Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, and organized by the Istituto affari internazionali. Proceedings, With a foreword by Beniamino Segre. Edited by Jerzy Sztucki. Rome, Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1970. 767 p. illus.
GC2.S9 1969
Bibliography: p. [713]-756.

Contents.--Preface, by Beniamino Segre.--Foreword, by Altiero Spinelli.--Introductory remarks, by Jerzy Sztucki.--pt. 1. The configuration of the ocean floor and its subsoil; geopolitical implications: The configuration of the ocean floor and its subsoil; geopolitical implications, by André J. Guilcher. Quantitative data on the area of the continental shelf in the Americas, by H. W. Menard. Summary of discussion.--pt. 2. The economic resources of the sea-bed: An oceanographer's view of the law of the sea, by Kenneth O. Emery. On the mineral resources of the sea floor around the Japanese Islands and the problems of banks and rocks situated outside the continental shelf, by Hiroshi Niino. Oil and natural gas;

evaluation, exploration and exploitation of deep water petroleum, by T. F. Gaskell. International regime of the sea-bed; oil and natural gas exploration and exploitation of deep water petroleum, by Giuseppe Muscarella. Marigenous minerals: wealth, regimes and factors of decision, by Francis T. Christy. Some considerations of living resources associated with the deep sea-bed, by Milner B. Schaefer. The living resources of the sea-bed, by Sidney J. Holt. Radioactive solid waste disposal into the oceans: implications and perspectives, by Carlo Polvani. Summary of discussion.--pt. 3. The present regime and possible future regimes of the sea-bed: The present regime of the exploration and exploitation of sea-bed resources in international law and in national legislation: an evaluation, by Edward D. Brown. The present regime of the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed resources in international law and in national legislation, by Francesco Durante. Reflections on the present and future regime of the sea-bed of the oceans, by Gaetano Arangio-Ruiz. Possible future regimes of the sea-bed resources, by Emilio Bettini. Future regime of the deep ocean floor, by Shigeru Oda. Some general considerations on the need for and the requirements of an international regime for the sea-bed and the ocean floor, by Arvid Pardo. Possible future regimes of the sea-bed resources: international regulatory agency, by Louis B. Sohn. Possible future regime of the sea-bed--some legal aspects of the uses of the sea-bed, by Andrey K. Zhudro and Anatoly L. Kolodkin. Summary of discussion.--pt. 4. The military uses of the sea-bed and their regime: Present regime of the military uses of the sea-bed; possible regimes to be envisaged, by Juraj Andrassy. A note on bridging the differing Soviet and American objectives of sea-bed demilitarization, by Donald G. Brennan. Res nullius de facto--the limits of technology, by John P. Craven. The military uses of the deep ocean floor and its subsoil--present and future, by Jens Evensen. Summary of discussion.--pt. 5. Scientific research on the sea-bed and its regime: The legal regime of scientific research on the seabed, by Leo J. Bouchez. Scientific research on the sea-bed; international cooperation in scientific research and exploration of the sea-bed, by Roger Revelle. Summary of discussion.--Final report.--Bibliography of the problem of the international regime of the sea-bed and related matters for years 1965-1969, by Jerzy Sztucki.--List of participants.--Detailed index.

Proceedings of a symposium, attended by 51 participants from 22 countries and held in the Palazzo Corsini in Rome from June 30 to July 5, 1969, on the future status of the ocean and seabed in international law and relations. The bibliography covers materials from the period 1965-1969, when "the questions of the exploration and use of the ocean floor . . . gained recognition and significance as problems of international relations," and concentrates "mainly on political, legal, military and also economic aspects of the problem."

1530
Vlasic, Ivan A. THE RELEVANCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW TO EMERGING TRENDS IN THE LAW OF OUTER SPACE. In Black, Cyril E., and Richard A. Falk, comps. The future of the international legal order. Volume II: Wealth and resources. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1970: 265-325.
JX3091.F8, v. 2
Includes bibliographical footnotes.

The U.N. General Assembly's unauthorized function as the major international body developing outer space law may have been set back by the 1967 Space Treaty, which, however, contains little that is new. "It is probably not an exaggeration to assert that the future of the legal order in outer space will largely depend on the degree of the militarization of the new arena." Satellite reconnaissance, antisatellite weaponry, the Fractional Orbit Bombardment System, disruption of communications, and manned military spacecraft are serious possibilities. Antimissile defense systems may require high-altitude nuclear testing or a component orbiting offensive system, either of which would mean denunciation of the treaties limiting such activities. The Space Treaty, while prohibiting weapons placement outside the earth, does not forbid military uses per se. Because of the demonstrated destabilizing nature of arms races, "the only rational measure at this juncture that can be recommended as having a reasonable chance of success is the one aimed at terminating further militarization of space," a move which "might eventually lead to a major disarmament program." Unthinking utilization of new space technologies may cause irreversible environmental damage, against which the Space Treaty offers little protection. Cooperative space arrangements have benefited primarily the advanced countries, which also hold a virtual monopoly in the space-law decisionmaking process. International cooperation in space should replace national competition, and an international space agency open to all nations is needed to "perform for the world community substantially the same role that NASA now performs for the United States."

ENFORCEMENT OF AGREEMENTS

1531
Bakun, William H., and Lane R. Johnson. SHORT PERIOD SPECTRAL DISCRIMINANTS FOR EXPLOSIONS. Geophysical journal of the Royal Astronomical Society, v. 22, Feb. 1971: 139-152. illus.
QC801.G382, v. 22
"This research was sponsored by the Air Force Office of Scientific Research, Office of Aerospace Research, United States Air Force under AFOSR Grant No. 69-1783."
Cited by Gerald Wick, "Nuclear Explosion Seismology: Improvements in Detection," Science, v. 175, Mar. 10, 1972: p. 1097 (an abstract of which appears elsewhere in the current issue of this bibliography) as showing the ability to dis-

tinguish between earthquakes and explosions down to a body-wave magnitude of 3.2.
Q1.S35, v. 175

Spectra (0-5 Hz) of the P_g phase at JAS [Jamestown], California (Δ=250-500 km), for 69 events (M=2.8-4.5) located within 100 km of NTS [Nevada Test Site] are used to investigate source differences between the short period spectra of nuclear explosions and 'natural' earthquakes. The P_g spectral ratio (0.6-1.25 Hz)/(1.35-2.0 Hz) of ground displacement satisfactorily discriminates NTS explosions from 'natural' earthquakes for a threshold magnitude at least as low as M=3.2. The explosion spectra are relatively richer in the high frequency band (1.35-2.0 Hz) than are the natural earthquake spectra. An interesting result suggested by this study is that the short period P-wave spectra of 'afterevents' of large NTS explosions resemble the spectra of explosions rather than that of 'natural' earthquakes. (Abstract supplied)

1532
Case, Clifford P. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY AUTHORIZATIONS, 1973--AMENDMENT. Remarks in the Senate of the United States, Mar. 20, 1972. Congressional record [daily ed.] Ninety-second Congress, second session, v. 118: 4190-4192.
J11.R52, v. 118

Text of a statement by Senator Clifford Case prepared for delivery before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which offers amendments to S. 3108, the defense procurement bill, and to S. 3200, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency authorization bill, for the purpose of transferring responsibility for seismic research from the Defense Department to the Arms Control Agency. Because seismic research is important to reaching an underground nuclear test ban treaty, Senator Case regards such research as essentially an arms control measure which inevitably conflicts with the primarily military role of the Defense Department.

1533
Davies, Merton E., and Bruce C. Murray. INSPECTION OF EARTH FROM ORBIT. In their The view from space; photographic exploration of the planets. New York, Columbia University Press, 1971: 9-33. illus.
QB605.D38
Includes bibliographical references.

Interesting proposals have been advanced for monitoring compliance with arms control agreements from satellites. "There will generally be two types of requirements for satellite inspection: the first is for frequent looks at a particular small area of the earth to observe change; and the second is for an initial inventory of objects over a large area." The selection of orbits for satellites carrying out either mission will depend on the latitude of the area covered. The use of satellites in inspecting arms control agreements was first officially advanced by the Western allies at the 1958 Surprise Attack Conference in Geneva. Unilateral satellite inspection of arms limitation agreements has attracted interest recently, but periodic review of such systems might be necessary because there is no way to resolve disputes over the interpretation of data. The United States and the Soviet Union have both proposed a U.N.-operated International Disarmament Organization (IDO), which ought to be established in advance of negotiations. "Developing the inspection techniques and capabilities before they are needed could promote arms limitation agreements which reflect the effectiveness of the IDO inspection methods." Orbital inspection could be useful in monitoring nuclear-free zones, arms-free zones between belligerents, port operations of an area under international sanctions, and crisis situations. Access to information from U.N. satellites will require special procedures. A 2-meter ground resolution of photographs would be very useful for orbital inspection, as the quality of high-altitude pictures taken during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis amply demonstrates. U.N. facilities should be independent of the United States and the Soviet Union to ensure continued operation at all times, and the space programs of almost all the other countries could well be used to support a U.N. orbital inspection capability. A good beginning for a U.N. system would be a 115-kilogram satellite, a size compatible with the capabilities of newer launchers, possessing a 5-meter resolution at an orbital nadir of 200 kilometers. In a strategic arms limitation agreement, a bilateral, Soviet-U.S. satellite inspection system could be used to provide data for negotiating other modes of inspection and for resolving suspicions through a private forum. "It would seem prudent to start discussions of inspection in support of arms control measures early during negotiation in an attempt to reach some working relationships before they are needed."

1534
Myers, Henry R. COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY: GROUNDS FOR OBJECTION DIMINISH. Science, v. 175, Jan. 21, 1972: 283-286.
Q1.S35, v. 175

In 1970 and 1971, two events occurred which may eventually assist in the attainment of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. First was the November 1971 five-megaton nuclear test on Cannikin and the doubt about the general need for nuclear testing caused by its official justifications. Second was the summer 1970 Woods Hole Conference of the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency, which was brought to public attention in April 1971. The Conference's proceedings indicated that considerable progress had been made in the seismic differentiation of underground nuclear explosions and earthquakes, thus countering American insistence on inclusion of on-site inspection in any underground test ban. The Defense Department denied that progress had been as significant as alleged and pointed to a

number of conceivable ways by which a violator could escape detection. Testimony at two subsequent congressional hearings substantially supported the arguments that seismic measurement is now highly accurate, that on-site inspections have dubious utility, and that it would be extremely difficult to conduct clandestine nuclear tests without detection. At the very least, the Cannikin test and the Woods Hole Conference have effected a permanent change in the debate on a new test ban.

1535
Neild, Robert, and J. P. Ruina. A COMPREHENSIVE BAN ON NUCLEAR TESTING. Science, v. 175, Jan. 14, 1972: 140-146. Q1.S35, v. 175

"This article is an abbreviated and modified version of the authors' contribution to The Test Ban, a research report issued by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute in October 1971."

Because of the American inability to compromise with the Soviet Union on the number of permissible on-site inspections, the 1963 Nuclear Test Ban Treaty did not prohibit underground testing. Consequently the opportunity was lost to attain a comprehensive test ban and to establish a precedent for inspection. The main obstacle to a total ban has been the question whether unilateral means of detecting and verifying the nature of suspicious events are sufficient. Recent developments in seismology have markedly reduced the number of seismic events that cannot be identified as either explosions or earthquakes, significantly lessening the need for on-site inspections. Supplementary, nonseismic methods of detection and identification could be important because unlike seismic means they are not necessarily less effective in detecting smaller tests. A power planning a first strike will be more influenced by reduced confidence in its untested arsenal than a power planning for retaliation only. The result may be that each side maintains weapons useful for deterrence alone. Advances in the other components of a weapons system are more important than an improved warhead developed through testing. The effects of a nuclear explosion are now tested on various items mainly to improve antimissile defense system parts, and additional testing, increasing disillusionment with the system, or an international agreement limiting antimissile systems should drastically reduce the need for effects tests. Nothing has come of research and development tests to create "clean" and "neutron" bombs, and the whole field of nuclear bomb research and development seems to produce diminishing returns. The benefits from clandestine testing, which of necessity could use only low-yield weapons, will hardly alter the superpower strategic balance of power. Inclusion of a provision for the peaceful use of nuclear explosions, now considered to be of little worth, would complicate enormously a comprehensive test ban treaty. Such a ban alone would not slow the strategic arms race greatly, and would be primarily useful as a political device to détente and other arms control agreements. The U.S. negotiating position rejecting a comprehensive test ban without on-site inspection is becoming increasingly difficult to maintain.

1536
Reed, Jack W. AIRBLAST OVERPRESSURE DECAY AT LONG RANGES. Journal of geophysical research, v. 77, Mar. 20, 1972: 1623-1629. illus. QC811.J6, v. 77

An empirical model is presented for explosion wave propagation, which demonstrates that pressure amplitude is inversely proportional to distance raised to the 1.2 power. This model resulted from recordings of vertical propagations, essentially unrefracted by the horizontally stratified atmosphere, and by comparison of amplitudes from different yields after nearly simultaneous propagation along more complex atmospheric paths. Recent NASA rocket grenade experiments provide basis for extending the scaled range of applicability to 8000 km from a 1-kt nuclear explosion. (Abstract supplied)

1537
Rodean, Howard C. NUCLEAR-EXPLOSION SEISMOLOGY. [Washington] U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, Division of Technical Information; [for sale by the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Va.] 1971. 156 p. illus. (AEC critical review series) UG465.5.R63
Bibliography: p. 137-146.

Contents.--Introduction.--Inelastic response to nuclear explosions.--Distribution of energy from underground nuclear explosions.--Linear elastic (seismic) waves from explosions.--Anelastic attenuation of seismic signals.--Seismometer characteristics and operating environment.--Distant seismic signals from underground nuclear explosions.--Techniques to minimize seismic signals.--Summary.

Summarizes "the present state of unclassified knowledge derived from experiment and theory concerning (1) the coupling between underground nuclear explosions and seismic signals and (2) the phenomena pertinent to decoupling and low-coupling environments." The study is prefaced with a brief history of nuclear explosion seismology and a general introduction to the physics and chemistry of underground nuclear explosions. It is intended as a contribution to the debate on the question of seismic verification of a comprehensive nuclear test ban. The greatest gaps in current knowledge concern "accurate equations of state for rocks, especially for the process of adiabatic loading . . . [and] the influence of various explosion parameters on R-wave characteristics."

1538
U.S. Congress. Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation. STATUS OF CURRENT TECHNOLOGY TO IDENTIFY SEISMIC EVENTS AS NATURAL OR MAN-MADE. Hearings, Ninety-second Congress, first session on extent of present capabilities for detecting and determining

nature of underground events. October 27 and 28, 1971. Washington, U.S. Govt. Print. Off., 1971. 393 p. illus. DLC
Supt. of Docs. no.: Y4.At7/2:Se4.

Testimony from Government and academic seismological experts on the advances since 1963 in detecting, locating, and discriminating between natural and man-made seismic events to determine whether or not a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty is technologically enforceable by the United States alone. The hearings do not extend to the military or political implications of a ban on underground nuclear tests.

1539
Wadsworth, James J., and Jo Pomerance. HOW THE PENTAGON BLOCKS ARMS PACTS. Current, no. 133, Oct. 1971: 45-47. AP2.C9259, 1971
Reprinted from The New York Times, Aug. 29, 1971. N&CPR

Forces inside the Pentagon are blocking U.S. efforts to negotiate a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty with the Soviet Union. Heretofore, Pentagon spokesmen have based their case on an alleged need for onsite inspections; now they contend that underground tests are necessary to assure the reliability of the U.S. nuclear arsenal. Atomic Energy Commission and Pentagon officials may be quite sincere in their belief that the United States ought to continue its underground testing program. However, to support their case, they have deliberately antagonized the Russians, misrepresented the Soviet negotiating position, inflated the inspection issue out of all proportion to its real importance, misled the public about the facts concerning seismic detection capabilities, and treated the environmental hazards issue with something less than candor. This record is shocking indeed: for fifteen years, the Pentagon has been undermining the arms control policy of U.S. Presidents, misleading the American public, and promoting an arms race that could end in global disaster.

1540
Werth, Glenn C., ed. THE HANDCAR NUCLEAR EXPLOSION IN DOLOMITE. Livermore, Univ. of California, Lawrence Radiation Lab., Oct. 13, 1970. 50 p. illus. Sci RR
Microfiche UCRL-50951
Includes bibliographical references.

The Plowshare Program has continued its study of underground explosion processes with the detonation of a 12±1 kt nuclear explosion in dolomite on November 5, 1964. This experiment, called the Handcar Event, was the first underground explosion in which a permanent gas (carbon dioxide) was generated in large quantities. Prior to Handcar, nuclear explosion experiments had been conducted only in silicate-base rocks (such as tuff and granite) and in salt. Extrapolation of data from explosions in silicates to carbonate-base rocks such as limestone and dolomite was open to serious question prior to Handcar. How much gas would be released? What role would it play in dynamic growth of the cavity and containment? What is the strength of the seismic signal? No serious containment problems resulted, although the highly porous medium allowed the Handcar chimney to depressurize rapidly. The cavity radius is about 10% less and the chimney height about 27% less than would be expected in granite. We can predict the strength of strong shock, in the hydrodynamic region. We do not have an understanding of the plastic, crushed, and near-elastic region. Close in, the seismic waves generated, in terms of peak values of particle velocities, are comparable to those generated in competent tuff, whereas far out they are about half the magnitude of those in competent tuff. (Abstract supplied, modified)

1541
Wick, Gerald. NUCLEAR EXPLOSION SEISMOLOGY: IMPROVEMENTS IN DETECTION. Science, v. 175, Mar. 10, 1972: 1095-1097.
Q1.S35, v. 175

In the last decade, nuclear explosion seismology has progressed to the point where "some experts now believe that explosions in hard rock with yields as small as 2 kilotons could be identified on a global scale with no more than a dozen high-quality seismograph stations." The usefulness of each of the four kinds of body and surface seismic waves in distinguishing explosions from earthquakes has been explored. At present, surface waves with 15-second periods or more (that is, with frequencies under 0.06 cycles per second) appear to be most useful, because the surface waves of earthquakes are considerably larger than those of explosions. It has been shown "that the value of ratio m_b:M_s--where m_b is the body-wave magnitude and M_s is the surface wave magnitude--can be used to distinguish earthquakes from explosions when m_b is greater than 4.75," corresponding to a 12-kiloton explosion in hard rock. This ratio implies the elimination of the need for on-site inspections as a provision of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. A capability in the lower thresholds will require a sizeable investment in new equipment. Background noise remains the main obstacle to improvement. With the recent discovery of the importance of "regionalization," or the differences in seismic signals produced in the same station by equivalent explosions in similar materials but in different locations, prediction of the kinds of signals generated from a hitherto unused test site may become a reality. Possible methods of concealing or disguising an explosion, while not foolproof, have caused Government concern. Although detection methods have markedly improved, an absolute guarantee of accuracy in every instance is probably impossible. "If we are to have complete cessation of nuclear testing, the initiative will have to come from the politicians now that the capability to detect all but the smallest explosions is in view."

CONSEQUENCES OF ARMS CONTROL

1542
Anderson, Forrest P. DEFENSE CUTBACKS: SOME EFFECTS AND SOLUTIONS. Washington, D.C., Industrial College of the Armed Forces, 1971. 38 p. illus. (Monograph series) DLC

The drive for economy in national expenditures has resulted in some reductions of defense expenditures, and changing national policies and priorities, both foreign and domestic, will bring about more drastic reductions in the future. One result of these reductions, it is hoped, will be that more Federal funds will be available for domestic programs. On the other hand, fewer military facilities and less procurement of military supplies and of major military hardware will adversely affect localities whose economic viability depends in whole or in part on military activities or on military contracts. This study examines the background for local dependency on defense spending, the effects on two communities of cutbacks in defense expenditures, and some ways in which adverse effects on the local economy can be alleviated or avoided. (Abstract supplied)

1543
Maryland. State Planning Dept. NATIONAL DEFENSE RELATED EMPLOYMENT IN MARYLAND, 1965-1969. [Baltimore] 1970. viii, 73, xxx ℓ. illus. (Its Publication no. 163) HC107.M33D45
Bibliography: leaves xxix-xxx.
"The preparation of this document was financially aided through a Federal grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development under the Urban Planning Assistance Program Authorized by Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954, as amended."

Contents.--Letter of transmittal.--Preface.--Summary.--Introduction.--Background studies.--Maryland's role in Federal defense activities.--The geographical incidence of defense generated activity within Maryland.--Estimating defense generated employment in Maryland: 1965-1969.--Department of Defense civilian employment in Maryland.--The economic vulnerability of Maryland's counties to possible decreases in Department of Defense acvitity.--Conclusions.--Recommendations.--Appendices: Hypothetical example of estimation of employment from prime defense contract data. Estimated defense generated employment in Maryland: 1965-1969.--Bibliography.

Analyses patterns of defense expenditure in Maryland during the 1965-1969 Vietnam buildup to determine the effect on employment of changes in spending for prime defense contracts and civilian Department of Defense (DOD) activities. In 1968, with 1.9 percent of the nation's population, the state had 1.9 percent of U.S. prime military contracts, which "suggests that Maryland is not overly committed to defense spending with respect to per capita involvement." The study found defense-related employment to be low or practically nonexistent in certain counties and high in others, primarily the belt between Baltimore and Washington, D.C. Because civilian contracts may take the place of prime defense contracts, "civilian DOD employment is felt to present a more complex adjustment problem than employment generated by prime defense contracts." Of Maryland's 24 counties, only three--each with a medium (below 5 percent) unemployment rate but with over 40 percent of total county employment related to defense and with a low or uneven industrial base--are thought to be highly vulnerable to elimination of defense spending.

OTHER PROBLEMS AND MEASURES

1544
CHEN CHU REAFFIRMS CHINA'S PRINCIPLED STAND ON COMPLETE PROHIBITION, THOROUGH DESTRUCTION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. In U.S. Consulate General, Hong Kong. Survey of China mainland press, no. 5038, Dec. 21, 1971: 85-86. Micro 01327
Hsin hua t'ung hsün shê [New China News Agency] release, English, United Nations, Dec. 9, 1971. DS777.55.H656, 1971

Reaffirming his Government's "principled position" on outlawing and destroying nuclear arms, Chinese representative Chen Chu told the U.N. First (Political) Committee on December 9, 1971, that a complete ban on nuclear testing could only exacerbate the nuclear danger if not accompanied by the total elimination of all nuclear weapons. He said that until this was accomplished, China would continue its nuclear testing for self-defense. The Chinese Government has solemnly pledged never to use nuclear weapons first. Since the superpowers have for decades already tested, developed, and stockpiled nuclear weapons, "the partial or complete halting of nuclear tests will not inhibit the continuation of their production and use of nuclear weapons." The People's Republic of China will "under present circumstances" oppose the draft resolution for a complete nuclear test ban.

1545
Doran, Charles F. THE POLITICS OF ASSIMILATION; HEGEMONY AND ITS AFTERMATH. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press [1971] 223 p. illus. JX1315.D67
Bibliography: p. 205-217.

Contents.--Introduction.--The elements and motif of the assimilative process.--The Peace of Westphalia: perils of over-assimilation.--The Treaty of Utrecht: assimilation or temporary stagnation?--The Congress of Vienna: precipitous defeat and controlled assimilation.--Successful assimilation.--Bibliography.--Index.

Analyzes the process of "assimilation," the readmittance of a defeated state in a war for hegemony into a restored, stable international order. Doran undertakes a comparative study of the circumstances and results of the Peace of Westphalia (1648), the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), and the Congress of Vienna (1815), examining "the politico-economic causes of hegemony, the military-strategic response, and the structural-behavioral aftermath in terms of a theory of hegemony and assimilation which encompasses the two more recent hegemonies (World Wars I and II) as well." He defines three phases of assimilation: subjugation, either partial or total; negotiation, immediate alterations of the status quo; and order maintenance, long-term stabilizing adjustments. Doran regards the Westphalian Treaty as over-assimilative because Austria was readmitted to the international order at the cost of Spain's position in world affairs, weakening the once-powerful Hapsburg Family Complex before the rise of French power. Utrecht wa- under-assimilative because it failed to establish meaningful constraints on France in the negotiation and order-maintenance phases. France retained the potential for profiting from systemic imbalance until the Congress of Vienna, which avoided both over- and under-assimilation. Doran concludes that the occurrence of expansionist tendencies, a factor common to all states at some time, is predictable to some extent. "The book provides a framework for quantitative research into long-term actor dynamics by which its crucial hypothesis about the probability of hegemony may be tested," which also means that, "by delineating expansionist indicators and observing the cyclical patterns of relative war-potential variation between states, the political analyst may overcome the limitations of the balance-of-power theory as it is traditionally conceived."

1546

Dürr, Otto. [PEACE, A CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION; PROBLEMS, ORIENTATION AIDS, INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS] Frieden, Herausforderung an die Erziehung; Probleme, Orientierungshilfen, Unterrichtsmaterialen. Stuttgart, Calwer Verlag [c1971] 240 p. (Arbeiten zur Pädagogik, 16)

JX1904.5.D84

Bibliography: p. 231-233.

Contents.--Preface.--pt. 1. Problems and statements on a pedagogy for peace: The urgency of peace education. The dilemma of peace education. The educational consequences of this dilemma. Collaboration with peace research. Concepts on peace education. Didactic aspects.--pt. 2. Information, texts, and instructional aids: No peace without international understanding. No peace without respect for human rights. No peace without a solution of the race problem. No peace without a renunciation of force. No peace capability without a just relationship vis-a-vis aggression. Peace is jeopardized by the manipulated masses. Whoever is for peace must reduce prejudice--texts on prejudice. There can be no peace where injustice occurs--the question of the foreign workers. No peace as long as the world is unjustly divided between the poor and the rich.--"Peace is identical with development."--Conclusion.--Bibliography.--Index of names.--Subject index.

Presents in Part I the urgency, problems, theses, and methods of peace education and in Part II postulates and develops nine thematic prerequisites for peace. Dürr also suggests in Part II readings and instructional aids for the personal and classroom enrichment of the study of these nine areas.

1547

Guelzo, Carl M. MATHEMATICS AND MILITARY SCIENCE. In U.S. Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth. Military review, v. 52, Jan. 1972: 32-40. illus. Z6723.U35, v. 52

Discusses the use of mathematical models in military decisionmaking. At issue is "the degree to which model building can provide useful insights into military operations of such value and reliability that a true military science becomes possible." Though the mathematical model is a powerful tool that can make a significant contribution to military decisionmaking, its limitations must also be recognized. In addition to the inherent limitations there are those that derive from the assumptions and value judgments upon which every model must ultimately rest. The need now is to develop military officers with the ability to bridge the gap between military and mathematical expertise and put these new mathematical tools to proper use.

1548

Ignatieff, George. A TIME FOR SUPERPOWERS TO HALT THE TREND TO NUCLEAR "OVERKILL." In Canada. Dept. of External Affairs. International perspectives, Jan./Feb. 1972: 14-18. illus. JX351.A3, 1972

Advocates a ban on all nuclear testing. Ignatieff sketches the Swedish and Canadian proposals calling for the development of international cooperation in the seismological identification of underground tests. He notes that strategic parity, technical improvements in detection, and the dangers of horizontal proliferation point to an urgent need to conclude a comprehensive test ban agreement. He concludes that restraints on qualitative improvements in the superpowers' nuclear weapons by an underground test ban would not detract from their assured-destruction capabilities because of the enormous amount of nuclear overkill available to them.

1549

Kennedy, Edward M. UNDERGROUND NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY. Remarks in the Senate of the United States, Mar. 20, 1972. Congressional record

[daily ed.] Ninety-second Congress, second session, v. 118: S4223-S4230.
J11.R52, v. 118

Criticizes the wavering commitment of the Nixon administration to a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty indicated in recently published interviews with Atomic Energy Commission Chairman James Schlesinger and Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird. Senator Kennedy warns that the political will of the United States, not the technology of verification, is blocking this kind of treaty and urges the President to introduce specific proposals at Geneva for a comprehensive test ban. He cites the full text of three United Nations General Assembly resolutions and a statement by U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim on halting nuclear weapons tests.

1550
Kuhn, Annette. [THEORY AND PRACTICE OF HISTORICAL PEACE RESEARCH] Theorie und Praxis historischer Friedensforschung. Stuttgart, E. Klett [c1971] 149 p. (Studien zur Friedensforschung, Bd. 7)
JX1952.S88 Bd. 7

Summary in English.
Includes bibliographical references.

Contents.--Preface, by Wolfgang Huber.--On the theory of historical peace research.--Historical peace research and instructional practice.--The provocation of peace and of the religious socialism of German Catholics in the year 1848/1849.--Documents on German Catholicism.

Analysis of the social thought and the political activities of German Catholics in the Revolution of 1848/49 to show how present-day conflicts can be avoided. Kuhn charges that the texts and methodologies of teaching history in West Germany are totally incompatible with the goals of peace education. A revision is in order, she avers, citing the relevance of the historical peace research conducted by the German Catholic Movement.

1551
Northedge, F. S., and M. D. Donelan. INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES: THE POLITICAL ASPECTS. London, Published for the David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies by Europa, 1971. 349 p.
JX1952.N75

Contents.--Introduction.--Past and present thought on international disputes.--The nature of disputes.--pt. 1. Origins: The origins of disputes within states. The origins of disputes between states. The prevention of disputes.--pt. 2. Development: The development of disputes within states. The development of disputes between states. The limitation of disputes.--pt. 3. Solutions: The solution of international disputes. The role of the United Nations. The work of regional organisations. Negotiation. Mediation. Arbitration and adjudication. Conclusions.--Appendix: catalogue of international disputes: 1945-70.--Index.

Discusses the political, economic and military aspects of the origin, development and solution of international disputes. Northedge and Donelan consider international disputes inherent to the human situation and conclude that "the most that men can do is to learn more about how to manage the inevitable clashes in outlook, policy and interest between states more efficiently." The belief that disputes can be eliminated from international relations altogether by education or a world government is utopian. It is more realistic to accept the fact that states quarrel and study the problem of how to deal more effectively with the conflicts of interests, goals and values which lead to disputes.

1552
Smith, Jessica. PEACE INITIATIVES OF THE SOVIET UNION. New World review, v. 39, fall 1971: 1-13.
DK266.A2N46, v. 39

Outlines recent Soviet peace gestures, including a proposal for a five-power disarmament conference and/or an all-world conference of all interested nations. In the United Nations the Soviets have pressed for extension of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty to underground testing, a ban on chemical as well as bacteriological weapons, and the reduction of nuclear stockpiles. The Soviet leaders Brezhnev and Kosygin have been traveling through Europe, Asia, and North Africa to promote friendly relations. The Chinese response to Soviet overtures has been discouraging because they refuse to attend disarmament conferences and charge "nuclear blackmail." The Soviets express hope for progress at the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks but do not treasure any illusions about President Nixon's foreign policy.

AUTHOR INDEX

[Numbers refer to entries.]

A

Abosch, Heinz, 1070
Abu-Jaber, Faiz S., 1071
Acheson, Dean, 1456
Adams, Benson D., 1229
Aichi, Kiichi, 1072
Alexander, Raymond P., 1374
Aliano, Richard A., 1315
Almond, Gabriel A., 1372
Alopaeus, Simone, 1487
Altmann, Rüdiger, 1073
Alvarado, Juan V., 1289
Anand, J. P., 1166
Anand, R. P., 1067, 1372
Anderson, Clinton P., 1523
Anderson, Forrest P., 1542
Andrassy, Juraj, 1529
Andren, Nils, 1043
Anspaugh, L., 1217
Apalin, G., 1075
Appadorai, A., 1076, 1464
Apple, R. W., 1077
Arangio-Ruiz, Gaetano, 1529
Arbatov, G. A., 1078
Arnett, Peter, 1444
Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission, 1316
Auer, James E., 1230
Auer, Paul de, 1484
Autorenkollektiv des Deutschen Instituts für Militärgeschichte und der Militärakademie Friedrich Engels, 1238
Ayoob, Mohammed, 1067

B

Bach, Pham Van, 1471
Bader, William B., 1361, 1459
Bailey, Sydney D., 1436, 1460
Bakun, William H., 1531
Baran, Paul A., 1132
Barnet, Richard J., 1361
Barnett, A. Doak, 1079
Barnett, Frank R., 1310
Barnett, Robert W., 1080, 1102
Barrett, Raymond J., 1416
Barth, Zeev, 1167
Bauer, Leo, 1046
Baumann, Gerhard, 1231
Bean, Alan L., 1353
Beaton, Leonard, 1025
Bechtoldt, Heinrich, 1026, 1485
Beebe, Gilbert W., 1317
Beecher, William, 1168
Berchtold, Walter, 1465
Berg, Meredith W., 1409
Besson, Waldemar, 1043
Bettini, Emilio, 1529
Bien, George S., 1337
Bienen, Henry, 1318
Birnbaum, Karl E., 1053
Black, Cyril E., 1361-1362, 1459, 1470
Blumenwitz, Dieter, 1363
Boeck, Klaus, 1319
Böhm, Anton, 1375
Böhme, Gernot, 1510
Bonham, G. Matthew, 1417
Bopp, Eberhard, 1169
Borch, Herbert von, 1081, 1320
Borgese, Elisabeth M., 1376
Bottome, Edgar M., 1418
Bouchez, Leo J., 1529
Bourne, Peter G., 1059
Bowen, Vaughan T., 1337
Bradford, Zeb B., 1232
Brandt, Willy, 1082-1084, 1249
Brennan, Donald G., 1529
Brenner, Michael J., 1233
Brewster, Kingman, 1027
Brodie, Bernard, 1196, 1372
Brodine, Virginia, 1234
Broecker, Wallace S., 1337
Bronson, F. H., 1059
Brookner, Eli, 1321
Brown, Bruce, 1122
Brown, Edward D., 1529
Brown, Neville, 1028, 1257
Brucan, Silviu, 1029
Brzezinski, Zbigniew, 1102, 1456
Buehrig, Edward H., 1372
Bull, Hedley, 1397
Burchett, Wilfred, 1444
Burke, William T., 1362, 1522
Burns, E. L. M., 1431
Burns, Richard Dean, 1410, 1419
Burrack, Dieter, 1086
Bush, George, 1472
Butterfield, Fox, 1339

C

Cade, Joseph A., 1322, 1353
Calder, Nigel, 1200
Caldwell, Malcolm, 1235
Calian, Carnegie S., 1398
Calzini, Paolo, 1487
Camps, Miriam, 1486
Carey, John, 1367
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1030
Carney, Joseph P., 1087
Caron, Gerald C., 1236
Case, Clifford P., 1532
Castle, L. V., 1122
Castro, Josué de, 1069
Cecil, R., 1088
Chalfont, Arthur Gwynne Jones, baron, 1377
Chauvel, Jean, 1089
Chiao, Kuan-hua, 1090
Cho, M. Y., 1091
Chomsky, Noam, 1132, 1235
Christy, Francis T., 1529
Clemens, Walter C., 1053, 1420
Clubb, O. Edmund, 1170
Coffey, Joseph I., 1477
Colot, Louis, 1487
Conner, Robert L., 1031
Cook, Fred J., 1461
Cook, Jerry E., 1526
Cooper, John Sherman, 1157
Coplin, William D., 1032, 1201
Corbett, Percy E., 1372
Couderc, Paul, 1353
Craven, John P., 1529
Creyghton, J. H. C., 1069
Croan, Melvin, 1278
Cross, F. T., 1299
Cuéllar, Oscar, 1289
Cviic, K. F., 1092
Czempiel, Ernst-Otto, 1093

D

Dadrian, Vahakn N., 1033
Daniels, Jeff, 1202
Dar, E. H., 1239
Davies, Merton E., 1533
Davison, Michael S., 1253
Dean, Vera M., 1067
Delgado, J. M. R., 1059
Delmas, Claude, 1411
Derriennic, Jean-Pierre, 1041
Desjardins, C., 1059
Deutsch, Karl W., 1057, 1372
Devillers, Philippe, 1041
Dickson, Paul, 1323
Divale, William T., 1192
Dobell, Peter C., 1053
Doctor, Adi H., 1466
Dodge, Norton T., 1074
Domes, Juergen, 1102
Donelan, M. D., 1551
Doran, Charles F., 1545
Dorsey, Gray L., 1364

468-782 O - 72 - 9

Douglas-Home, Sir Alec, 1489
Draper, G. I. A. D., 1365
Drouin, Patrice, 1034
Duchêne, François, 1490
Duclos, Louis-Jean, 1041
Dürr, Otto, 1546
Durante, Francesco, 1529
Dutt, Gargi, 1067
Dutt, V. P., 1102

E

Ebert, Theodor, 1057
Eckhardt, William, 1399
Edelsberg, Herman, 1171
Eide, Asbjørn, 1491
Eleftheriou, Basil E., 1059
Emery, Kenneth O., 1529
End, Heinrich, 1172
Enos, J. L., 1035
Epstein, William, 1412
Eran, Oded, 1173
Erickson, John, 1439
Evensen, Jens, 1529
Evron, Yair, 1174

F

Fabritzek, Uwe G., 1095
Falk, Richard A., 1069, 1324, 1361-1362, 1372, 1459, 1470
Farer, Tom J., 1361
Farlow, Robert L., 1096
Feiveson, Harold, 1361, 1421
Fejtö, François, 1053
Feld, Werner, 1378
Figgess, Sir John, 1240
FitzGerald, C. P., 1102
Fleming, D. F., 1132
Fleming, Edward H., 1203
Fletcher, James, 1321
Foland, Frances M., 1097
Foley, Charles, 1241
Folsom, Theodore R., 1337
Forndran, Erhard, 1440
Forschungsdienst China-Archiv, 1098-1100, 1242
Forsythe, David P., 1101
Fox, William T. R., 1372
Franck, Thomas M., 1243
Frank, Paul, 1493
Frankel, Theodore, 1102
Frei, Daniel, 1487
Fried, Edward R., 1278
Friedel, Alois, 1103
Friedman, Edward, 1102
Friedmann, Herbert, 1196
Friedmann, Wolfgang, 1362
Frisbee, John L., 1244
Fritsch, Bruno, 1069
Fromm, Erich, 1036
Fulbright, J. William, 1151, 1157

G

Gallois, Pierre, 1245
Galloway, Eilene, 1523
Galtung, Johan, 1175, 1372, 1400, 1432, 1487, 1491
Gaskell, T. F., 1529
Gass, Oscar, 1104
Gebhardt, Hermann P., 1105
Geiger, Rudolf, 1366
Gelb, Leslie H., 1325
Gelber, Harry G., 1246
Geneste, Marc E., 1247
Gerassi, John, 1132
Gerhardt, James M., 1248
Germany (Federal Republic, 1949-)
  Bundesministerium der Verteidigung, 1249
  Bundestag. Wissenschaftliche Dienste, 1494
Geyer, Georgie A., 1176
Geyer, Rolf, 1037
Girling, J. L. S., 1441
Gold, Volker, 1057
Goldberg, Arthur J., 1527
Goldblatt, Murray, 1106
Goodrich, Leland M., 1067
Gopalakrishnan, S., 1326
Gordon, Bernard K., 1107
Gottstein, Klaus, 1057
Gouré, Leon, 1250
Grant, Bruce, 1122
Grech, Anthony P., 1367
Grey, Jerry, 1321
Grézer, Jacques O., 1495
Grieve, M. J., 1056
Griffiths, Franklyn, 1422
Grigorova, Georgetta, 1487
Gröndal, Benedikt, 1251
Groos, David, 1252
Grosser, Alfred, 1177
Gruder, Charles L., 1442
Guelzo, Carl M., 1547
Guilcher, André J., 1529
Gumpel, Werner, 1178
Gupta, Anirudha, 1067
Gurtov, Melvin, 1108, 1443
Gustafson, Philip F., 1337
Guyot, Raymond, 1504

H

Haas, Ernst B., 1069
Hadley, Guy, 1496
Haeger, Robert A., 1253
Hänisch, Werner, 1497
Hahm, Pyong-choon, 1181
Hahn, Walter F., 1254
Halper, Thomas, 1109
Halperin, Morton H., 1102
Halpern, A. M., 1102
Hammarskjöld Forum, 14th, New York (Mar. 16, 1970), 1367
Han, Nae-bok, 1181
Hannigan, Jane A., 1030
Harbottle, Michael N., 1396
Harvey, Mary K., 1390
Hassner, Pierre, 1043, 1053, 1413
Hatfield, Mark O., 1336
Hatz, Oskar, 1110
Hay, Peter, 1069
Heimbrecht, Jörg, 1255
Henthorn, William E., 1181
Hewish, Mark, 1204
Hewitt, William, 1321
Higgins, Rosalyn, 1361
Hilton, Gordon, 1038
Hirschfeld, Oswald, 1498
Höivik, Tord, 1039
Hoffmann, Stanley, 1499
Holcombe, Arthur N., 1372
Holst, Johan J., 1478
Holt, Sidney J., 1529
Holton, Thomas, 1368
Holzer, Fred, 1205
Horowitz, David, 1132
Horowitz, Irving L., 1154, 1268
Houn, Franklin W., 1111
Howard, Niegl, 1401
Howe, Jonathan T., 1256
Huber, Wolfgang, 1550
Hudson, G. F., 1102
Hudson, Richard, 1444
Hughes, Thomas L., 1040
Humphrey, Hubert H., 1112
Huntington, Samuel P., 1318
Husain, Zakir, 1067
Hussain, T. Karki, 1113

I

Ichimaru, Michito, 1327
Iden, George, 1328
Ignatieff, George, 1548
Iklé, Fred C., 1445
Irwin, Christopher, 1258
Irwin, John N., 1524
Isard, Walter, 1401
Ishimaru, Toranosuke, 1327
Iskenderov, A., 1318

J

Jacobsen, Kurt, 1379
Jacobson, Harold K., 1043
James, Alan, 1257
Janowitz, Morris, 1259
Jessup, Philip C., 1372
Joffe, Josef, 1057
Johnson, F. N., 1042
Johnson, Gerald W., 1179
Johnson, Lane R., 1531
Johnson, Lyndon B., 1527
Johnson, Richard A., 1115
Jones, G. R. N., 1206
Jordan, Robert S., 1043
Joseph, Arnold B., 1337

K

Kahin, George McT., 1447
Kahn, Herman, 1044
Kaiser, Karl, 1057
Kalckreuth, Jürg von, 1260
Kalicki, J. H., 1116
Kalshoven, Frits, 1369
Kaminski, Gerd, 1180

Kamiya, Fuji, 1181
Kanegis, Arthur, 1473
Kaplan, Morton A., 1372
Kapur, Ashok, 1467
Kasprzak, John F., 1261
Katin, Vladimir, 1117
Kato, Hiroo, 1317
Keeton, George W., 1368
Keim, Willard D., 1045
Kelley, Albert J., 1321
Kelly, Joseph B., 1370
Kende, István, 1487
Kennan, George F., 1046
Kennedy, Edward M., 1549
Kennedy, John, 1196
Kennedy, William V., 1118
Kenworthy, E. W., 1339
Khadduri, Majid, 1372
Khan, Rahmatullah, 1067
Khol, Andreas, 1487
Kim, C. I. Eugene, 1318
Kim, Chŏng-kŏn, 1380
Kindermann, Cottfried-Karl, 1181
King, Jere C., 1196
Kintner, William R., 1047, 1262
Kirshbaum, Jack D., 1327
Klefisch, Johannes W., 1500
Klein, Jean, 1487
Klocke, Helmut, 1048
Knauss, John A., 1525
Knorr, Klaus, 1372
Koch, Claus, 1320
Koch, Roland, 1057
Kodžić, Petar, 1423
Kohl, Wilfrid L., 1263
Kolko, Gabriel, 1324
Kolodkin, Anatoly L., 1529
Koppel, Ted, 1149
Korb, Lawrence J., 1329
Kourvetaris, George A., 1330
Krägenau, Henry, 1319
Kramish, Arnold, 1361, 1468
Kristol, Irving, 1119
Krüger, Joachim, 1497
Krysmanski, Hans J., 1049
Kuentz, Peter, 1264
Küpper, Christel, 1057
Kuhn, Annette, 1550
Kuzmin, V., 1120
Kyle, Keith, 1501

L

Laking, George R., 1121-1122
Lambeth, Benjamin S., 1479
Land, Charles E., 1317
Landheer, Bartholomeus, 1069
Larson, Thomas B., 1074
Larudee, Mehrene, 1135
Lasswell, Harold D., 1372
Lau, Lawrence J., 1227
Laurie, Peter, 1331
Laves, Walter H. C., 1372
Lee, John, 1265
Leitenberg, Milton, 1332, 1353
Lekven, Jon, 1333
Lendvai, Paul, 1123
Lepawsky, Albert, 1372
Lerman, Abraham, 1334
Lerner, Daniel, 1318
Leroy, Daniel, 1207
Leruez, Jacques, 1041
Lesher, J. Griffin, 1266
Levie, Howard S., 1367
Levine, Seymour, 1031
Levy, Marion J., 1318
Li, Cheng-chung, 1267
Licklider, Roy E., 1268
Lifton, Robert J., 1324
Lin, Piao, 1069
Linde, Gerd, 1269
Lobner, Matthias R., 1057
Lodgaard, Sverre, 1050, 1487, 1491
Loenen, Johannes H. M. M., 1069
Lotz, Walter E., 1448
Lovell, John P., 1318
Lowenthal, Richard, 1124
Lozoya, Jorge A., 1289
Lucas, Philippe, 1041
Luttwak, Edward, 1208
Lvov, Michail, 1424

M

McCarthy, Richard D., 1367
McClelland, Charles A., 1372
MacFarquhar, Roderick, 1102
McGeehan, Robert, 1270
Mackintosh, Malcolm, 1456
Mann, Golo, 1084
Mansfield, Michael J., 1335
Mariska, Mark D., 1271
Martin, Glen W., 1449
Maryland. State Planning Dept., 1543
Marzari, Frank, 1272-1273
Matthiessen, Gunnar, 1425, 1502
Maurer, Ralph G., 1348
Mazing, V., 1274
Meehan, John F., 1275
Mehnert, Klaus, 1051
Meier, Viktor, 1043
Meister, Jürg, 1276
Members of Congress for Peace through Law. Military Spending Committee, 1336
Menard, H. W., 1529
Menke-Glückert, Peter, 1057
Menzel, Eberhard, 1069, 1529
Meselson, Matthew, 1474
Miksche, Ferdinand O., 1426
Milton, T. R., 1277
Mir, D., 1059
Mitchell, Walter, 1209
Moore, John N., 1361
Morgenthau, Hans J., 1182
Morrison, Donald G., 1052
Morrock, Richard, 1132
Mosely, Philip E., 1456
Moulton, Phillips P., 1402
Moyer, K. E., 1059
Mozingo, David P., 1102
Mueller, George, 1321
Mukherjee, Hiren, 1125
Murgescu, Costin, 1487
Murphy, Brian L., 1211
Murphy, Charles J. V., 1469
Murray, Bruce C., 1533
Murty, T. S., 1183
Muscarella, Giuseppe, 1529
Myers, Henry R., 1534

N

Nahm, Andrew C., 1126
Nailor, Peter, 1257
Narayanan, R., 1067
National Research Council. Panel on Radioactivity in the Marine Environment, 1337
Needler, Martin C., 1318
Neild, Robert, 1535
Nelson, Keith L., 1338
Newhouse, John, 1278
Newsom, David D., 1127
Niemeyer, Gerhart, 1054
Niino, Hiroshi, 1529
Nixon, Richard M., 1128-1130, 1138, 1526-1527
Nizhegorodskii, K., 1360
Nolting, Louvan E., 1279
Noorani, Abdul G., 1131
Northedge, F. S., 1056, 1551

O

Oberländer, Erwin, 1069
Oda, Shigeru, 1529
Olteanu, N., 1134
Ornauer, Helmut, 1432
Ort, Alexander, 1487

P

Padelford, Norman J., 1526-1527
Pallete, Luis V., 1289
Palmer, Michael, 1503
Pardo, Arvid, 1390, 1529
Parenti, Michael, 1132
Pascal, Radu, 1133
Paulus VI, Pope, 1403
Peabody, James B., 1184
Pelowski, Allan L., 1382
Penescu, Corneliu, 1134, 1505
Perez-Guerrero, Manuel, 1058
Pergent, J. See Perret-Gentil, Jacques
Perret-Gentil, Jacques, 1281
Perry, Jack, 1074
Peters, Werner, 1282
Petras, James, 1132
Pfaltzgraff, Robert L., 1262
Pfeiffer, E. W., 1475
Phillips, Christopher H., 1433
Pick, Otto, 1506
Pictet, Jean, 1369
Pierce, E. T., 1340
Pilisuk, Marc, 1135

Pilkington, J. A., 1213
Pipes, Richard, 1136, 1450
Plotnik, R., 1059
Polak, Frederick L., 1069
Polenberg, Richard, 1341
Pollard, Vincent, 1507
Polvani, Carlo, 1529
Pomerance, Jo, 1539
Pownall, Thomas, 1321
Prentl, Sepp, 1283
President's Science Advisory Committee. Panel on Oceanography, 1527
President's Task Force on Oceanography, 1526
Preston, R. G., 1224
Prifti, Peter R., 1137
Pryce, Roy, 1053
Pugwash Working Group on Disarmament, 1480
Pugwash Working Group on European Security Problems, 1508

R

Ra'anan, Uri, 1451
Rajan, M. S., 1067
Ramazani, Rouhollah K., 1372
Ramsden, J. M., 1214
Rana, Swadesh, 1067
Rangarajan, C., 1326
Ranger, Robert, 1043, 1427
Rao, Rama, 1284
Ratcliffe, A. L., 1060
Rather, Dan, 1138
Read, Campbell B., 1342
Rechtin, Eberhardt, 1215
Redpath, Bruce B., 1160
Reed, Jack W., 1343, 1536
Rehm, Walter, 1509
Reich, Utz-Peter, 1510
Reisman, W. Michael, 1361
Relyea, Harold C., 1344
Revelle, Roger, 1529
Reynolds, P. A., 1067
Reynolds, Philip A., 1061
Richards, Lindsay, 1473
Richardson, J. L., 1286
Rider, Graham W., 1287
Riggs, Robert E., 1384
Rinden, Robert W., 1139
Rios, Jose A., 1289
Rizer, G. C., 1216
Robinson, Bryan W., 1059
Robinson, Donald L., 1288
Robinson, Richard D., 1318
Robison, W. L., 1217
Rochester, J. Martin, 1032, 1201, 1385
Rodean, Howard C., 1537
Röling, Bert V. A., 1372
Roett, Riordan, 1289
Rogers, Rita M., 1404
Rogers, William P., 1149, 1159
Ropp, Theodore, 1193
Rose, Hilary, 1353
Rose, Steven, 1353, 1476
Rosenfeld, Helmut, 1057
Ross, David F., 1528
Rosser, Richard F., 1140
Rostow, Eugene V., 1456
Rouquié, Alain, 1289
Ruge, Gerd, 1504
Ruina, J. P., 1535
Rumney, Mason P., 1349
Russell, Elbert W., 1062
Russell, Irving R., 1337

S

Säter, Martin, 1491
Safran, Nadav, 1141, 1186
Šahović, Milan, 1487
Salpeter, Eliahu, 1187
Salter, Leonard M., 1371
Sande, Øystein, 1063
Sandler, Stanley, 1064
Saraydar, Edward, 1452
Saywell, William, 1142
Scalapino, Robert A., 1102
Schack, Alard von, 1065
Schaefer, Milner B., 1529
Scharrer, Hans-Eckart, 1319
Scheel, Walter, 1143
Schilling, Jürgen, 1066
Schlott, Gerhart, 1345
Schmidt, Helmut, 1144-1145, 1249
Schnippenkoetter, Swidbert, 1057
Schooler, Dean, 1428
Schreiber, Marc, 1367
Schuert, E. A., 1337
Schuler, Ernst, 1511
Schulte, Ludwig, 1453
Schuman, Frederick L., 1372
Schwab, Peter, 1462
Schwartz, L., 1217
Schwarz, Urs, 1290
Scott, Andrew W., 1043
Scott, John P., 1059
Scott, Neil R., 1348
Scoville, Herbert, 1481-1482
Scribner, Jeffrey L., 1291
Scrivener, Desmond, 1218
Segal, Aaron, 1512
Segre, Beniamino, 1529
Seidl-Hohenveldern, Ignaz, 1386
Selden, Mark, 1234
Senghaas, Dieter, 1057, 1372
Shapley, Deborah, 1346
Sharma, Kashiram, 1146
Sheeks, Robert B., 1227
Sheen, Doh-sung, 1181
Sheppard, J. C., 1299
Shub, Anatole, 1188
Shub, Louis, 1147
Silker, W. B., 1347
Simonian, R., 1292
Singer, J. David, 1195, 1372
Singer, Jerome E., 1173
Singh, Arjan, 1299
Singh, Biswanath, 1387
Singh, Sangat, 1148
Smith, Charles F., 1219
Smith, Hedrick, 1339
Smith, Howard K., 1149
Smith, Jessica, 1552
Sohn, Louis B., 1529
Sokolov, IA. A., 1513
Solomon, George F., 1348
Soong, Ching-ling, 1150
Spinelli, Altiero, 1529
Sprigath, Gabriele, 1349
Stålvant, Carl-Einer, 1487
Stanley, Timothy W., 1278, 1293
Steinhaus, Kurt, 1349
Stennis, John C., 1151
Stevenson, Hugh M., 1052
Stirton, A. M., 1294
Stoleshnikov, A., 1434
Stoney, Paul R., 1295
Sugai, Ryuichi, 1351
Sviatov, G., 1274
Sweezy, Paul M., 1132
Symposium on the International Regime of the Sea-bed, Rome (1969), 1529
Sztucki, Jerzy, 1529

T

Takizawa, Yukio, 1351
Tamplin, Arthur, 1337
Tandon, Yash, 1388
Taniguchi, Harry, 1334
Targ, Harry R., 1405
Taubinger, Laszlo M. von, 1297
Taylor, George E., 1102
Taylor, Ian, 1043, 1487
Taylor, John W., 1220
Telegadas, Kosta, 1352
Terhune, Robert W., 1354
Terrell, Louis M., 1298
Thant, U, 1389
Thee, Marek, 1491
Thomas, David, 1503
Thomas, John R., 1074
Thompson, Kenneth W., 1067, 1372
Thomson, James C., 1102
Tierney, James F., 1289
Todd, James E., 1373
Töpelmann, Gerhard, 1152
Towpik, Andrzej, 1487
Toynbee, Arnold J., 1372
Tran Van Dinh, 1355
Tripathi, K. S., 1299
Trivers, Howard, 1153
Truelle, J., 1463
Tsuchimoto, Taiso, 1327
Tudyka, Kurt P., 1068
Tung, William L., 1372
Turner, Stanley E., 1209
Twitchett, Kenneth J., 1257

U

Uliassi, Pio D., 1154
Ulsamer, Edgar, 1221, 1300-1301
Ulstein, Egil, 1302

United States
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1415
Congress. House. Committee on Armed Services
Armed Services Investigating Subcommittee, 1303-1304
Dept. of Defense Worldwide Communications Subcommittee, 1454
Congress. House. Committee on Foreign Affairs
Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, 1155, 1455
Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements, 1391-1392
Subcommittee on National Security Policy and Scientific Developments, 1356
Congress. House. Committee on Government Operations. Legislation and Military Operations Subcommittee, 1357
Congress. Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, 1222
Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation, 1538
Congress. Joint Economic Committee. Subcommittee on Economy in Government, 1358
Congress. Senate. Committee on Aeronautical and Space Sciences, 1523
Congress. Senate. Committee on Armed Services, 1305
Subcommittee on General Legislation, 1306
Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations, 1156-1158
Subcommittee on Arms Control, International Law and Organization, 1429
Congress. Senate. Committee on Government Operations. Subcommittee on National Security and International Operations, 1450-1451, 1456
Dept. of State, 1159
General Accounting Office, 1359
Unnithan, T. K. N., 1069
Urquidi, Donald, 1410
Ushiba, H. E. Nobuhiko, 1160

V

Van Dyke, Vernon, 1372
Venter, Al J., 1307
Vernikos-Danellis, Joan, 1031
Verwey, Wil D., 1406
Vladimirov, V., 1360
Vlasic, Ivan A., 1362, 1530
Volchok, Herbert L., 1337
Voslenski, M. S., 1515
Vukadinović, Radovan, 1161

W

Wadsworth, James J., 1539
Wagner, David G., 1393
Wagner, Wolfgang, 1053
Walker, Richard L., 1102
Walsh, John, 1430
Walsh, Maurice N., 1196
Washburn, A. Michael, 1407
Watkins, Ralph J., 1227
Watt, D. C., 1162
Weber, Jürgen, 1516
Weisband, Edward, 1243
Weiss, Peter, 1235
Weisz, Heinz L., 1308
Weizsäcker, Carl F., Freiherr von, 1057
Welch, Annemarie S., 1059
Welch, Bruce L., 1059
Welch, Claude E., 1318
Welch, William, 1163
Wendte, Michael, 1394
Werkheiser, Don, 1435
Werth, Glenn C., 1223, 1540
Weston, Burns H., 1362
Wette, Wolfram, 1197
Wettig, Gerhard, 1057
Weymann, Konrat, 1309
Wheeler, V. E., 1224
Whetten, Lawrence L., 1310
Whiting, Allen S., 1102
Whitt, Darnell M., 1517
Wick, Gerald, 1541
Wieck, Hans-Georg, 1518
Wiener, Friedrich, 1225
Wilcox, Walter, 1196
Wilkes, Daniel, 1361
Williams, Alan L., 1311
Willrich, Mason, 1361, 1470
Windchy, Eugene G., 1312
Winiewicz, Jozef, 1519
Winpisinger, William, 1321
Wirth, Günter, 1457
Wördehoff, Bernhard, 1520
Wolfe, James H., 1165
Wolfe, Thomas W., 1074, 1456
Wormington, Serena, 1042
Wragg, David W., 1226
Wright, Quincy, 1067, 1069
Wu, Grace, 1227
Wu, Yuan-li, 1227
Wyatt, Woodrow, 1190

Y

Yalem, Ronald J., 1408
Yochelson, John, 1314
Yoerg, Robert, 1348
Younger, K. G., 1396

Z

Zador, Heinrich, 1191
Zarcone, Vincent P., 1348
Zeller, Willy, 1521
Zhudro, Andrey K., 1529
Ziman, John, 1353
Zinn, Howard, 1132
Zook, Benjamin, 1074
Zürcher, E., 1069

SUBJECT INDEX

[Numbers refer to entries.]

A

ADJUSTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES ECONOMY TO REDUCTIONS IN MILITARY SPENDING [BERNARD UDIS], 1345
AEROSPACE INDUSTRY, Common Market, 1214
AFRICA
  Communist Chinese influence, 1086
  behavioral analysis of political instability, 1052
  summit conference of African leaders (1971), 1388
AGGRESSION. See under Conflict
AIR DEFENSE SYSTEMS, United States, 1303-1304
AIRCRAFT
  Sweden, 1202
  world survey, 1220, 1226
ALBANIA, foreign policy and relations, 1137
AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL, 1344
ANTIMISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEMS
  Soviet Union, 1301
  United States
    policy history (1944-1970), 1229
    Safeguard, 1429, 1482
ANTISUBMARINE WARFARE, 1199
APPADORAI, A., bibliography, 1067
ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE. See under Middle East and North Africa
ARAB STATES, Soviet policy and relations, 1071, 1117, 1173
ARMED FORCES, weapons systems dictionary, 1208
ARMS AND ARMAMENTS
  bibliography, 1192, 1423
  dictionary, 1208
  Nigerian civil war, 1462
  reduction or elimination, 1060, 1390, 1421-1422, 1430, 1435, 1552
    economic effect, 1542
    Europe, 1420, 1477
    European security pact, 1500
    history, 1410-1412, 1415, 1419, 1427
    Mediterranean Sea, 1503
    mutual and balanced force reduction, 1245, 1514
    peace research, 1440
    simulated negotiations, 1417
    Soviet policy and proposals, 1424, 1434
    superpower disarmament, 1418
    U.N. contribution, 1377
  Soviet Navy, 1285
  trade and dissemination, 1459-1460
    arms pool of neutrals, 1458
    developing states, 1461
    economic impact on donor state, 1358
ARMS & ARMAMENTS--Continued
  trade and dissemination--Continued
    France, 1207, 1463
    Latin America, 1266
    South Africa, 1307
    Soviet Union to Pakistan, 1067
  United States, 1336
    loan of naval vessels, 1306
    troop withdrawals from Europe, 1103
  Warsaw Pact states, 1225
  See also specific type, e.g., Missiles; Tanks; etc.
ARMS RACE, 1421, 1426
  Soviet-U.S. competition, 1140, 1272, 1418, 1429, 1479, 1482
ASIA
  Australian role, 1286
  balance of power, 1118
  Chinese role, 1089
  security in, 1079
ATOMIC BOMB CASUALTY COMMISSION, bibliography, 1316
AUSTRALIA
  defense policy and programs
    Asian orientation, 1239
    long-term, 1286
  foreign policy and relations, 1122
    United States, 1107
AUSTRIA, foreign policy and relations, 1123

B

BALANCE OF POWER, 1060
  assimilation of defeated hegemonic states, 1545
  Europe, 1413
  multipolar arrangement, 1065
  negotiations, effect on, 1456
  nuclear deterrence, 1425
  strategic weapons, 1273
  tripolarity, 1026, 1100
  United States vs. Soviet Union, 1262
    role of arms control, 1427
  See also Strategic balance
BEHAVIORAL ANALYSIS
  conflict, 1045
    Africa, 1052
  crisis, 1038
  military power, 1298
  psychiatric research on conciliation, 1404
  war, 1196
BELLIGERENT REPRISALS, 1369
BERLIN
  legal position, 1094

BERLIN--Continued
Quadripartite Agreement (1971), 1055, 1182, 1449
BIAFRA. See Nigeria--civil war
BIBLIOGRAPHIES
Appadorai, A., 1067
arms and armaments and developing states, 1423
Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission papers, 1316
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1030
impact of war on United States, 1338
mutual and balanced force reduction, 1494
ocean and seabed, 1337, 1529
warfare, primitive, 1192
Wright, Quincy, 1372
BIOLOGICAL AGENTS, 1476
ban, draft treaty, 1472
Chinese Communist view, 1383
United States
Army budget (FY 1973), 1473
policy, 1471, 1475
BORDER DISPUTE, India-Communist China, 1183
BRANDT, WILLY, essays and speeches, 1084
BURTON, JOHN, 1408

C

CANADA
civil defense, 1294
exchange agreements with Soviet Union, 1106
foreign policy and relations, 1025
CHEMICAL AGENTS, 1476
ban draft treaty, 1472
Communist Chinese view, 1383
2-chloroBMN (CS), 1206
United States, 1473-1474
Vietnam war, 1471, 1475
CHINA, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF, 1051
defense policy and programs, intervention potential against India, 1284
disarmament policy and proposals
biological and chemical agents, 1383
comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, 1544
nuclear-free zones, 1438
foreign policy and relations, 1089, 1102
Africa, 1086
developing states, 1026
Germany, East and West, 1095
India, 1183
Indian Ocean neutralization, 1437
Indo-Pakistani conflict (1971), 1189
Indo-Soviet friendship treaty (1971), 1098
Japan, Soviet Union, and United States, 1142
Mongolia, 1146
Nationalist China, 1080, 1180
peacekeeping forces in Cyprus, 1395
"popular diplomacy,", 1091
President Nixon's visit, 1081, 1100
Sino-Soviet dispute, 1070
Soviet Union, 1075, 1166, 1170
United Nations, 1090, 1375, 1383, 1396
United States, 1079, 1111, 1113, 1116, 1150, 1469
leadership after Mao, 1139
CHINA, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF--Continued
nuclear policy and programs, 1227, 1242, 1469
nuclear strategy, 1246
threat to the United States, 1054
war tactics and peace strategy, 1267
CHINA, REPUBLIC OF
foreign policy and relations
accommodation with Communist China, 1180
United States, 1155
CIVIL DEFENSE, 1331
Canada, 1294
Soviet Union, 1237, 1250
CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS
developing states, 1318
Greece, 1330
Latin America, 1289
Soviet Union, 1236
United States, 1329
COLD WAR, 1270
COMMAND AND CONTROL, military communications systems, 1439, 1448-1449, 1454
COMMUNICATION, INTERNATIONAL, role in conflict resolution, 1408
COMMUNISM
goals and principles, 1114
threat to world peace, 1054
COMPLETE AND GENERAL DISARMAMENT. See General and complete disarmament
CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT, 1414-1415
CONFLICT
aggression theory, 1036
behavioral analysis, 1045, 1052, 1196, 1404
causes, 1031, 1033
chemical inhibitors, 1042
historical peace research, 1550
international, 1041, 1551
international law, 1364
management, 1067, 1361
physiological correlates, 1059
religion, 1398
resolution, 1385, 1408, 1436
social policy role, 1135
sociology, 1049
study and teaching, 1057
theory and Arab-Israeli dispute, 1175
CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION. See under Military service
CONVERGENCE THEORY, 1048
CONVERSION. See Defense industry--economic conversion
COUNCIL OF EUROPE, 1516
CRISIS MANAGEMENT, 1038
CYPRUS, United Nations Peacekeeping Force, 1395-1396

D

DECISIONMAKING, 1135
behavioral mechanisms, research in, 1038
foreign policy simulation, 1201
history, 1064
mathematical modeling, 1547
Pentagon Papers, 1339
Soviet Union, 1211, 1439

DECISIONMAKING--Continued
United Nations, 1373
United States
disarmament policy and scientists' role, 1428
foreign policy, 1109, 1153, 1256, 1339
DEFENSE CUTBACKS, United States, aerospace unemployment, 1321
DEFENSE INDUSTRY
economic conversion, 1321, 1345, 1542
profits, 1357
South Africa, 1307
United States, 1543
DEFENSE INDUSTRY PROFIT STUDY [U.S. GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE], 1357
DEFENSE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
arms control agreements, relation to, 1416
Communist China, 1227
Soviet Union, 1301
United States, 1215
Army (FY 1972), 1212
foreign affairs, 1154
funding, 1321
Mansfield amendment (1969) effect, 1346
DEFENSE SPENDING
effects, 1335, 1543
Soviet Union, 1279
United States, 1329, 1336, 1350
DETECTION. See under Inspection and verification
DÉTENTE, 1037, 1043, 1182, 1490
arms control negotiations, function of, 1427
deterrence, relation, 1453
Europe, 1420, 1506, 1517
U.S. policy in Arab-Israeli dispute, influence on, 1191
Yugoslavia, 1092
See also Berlin; East-West relations; Mutual and balanced force reduction
DETERRENCE
arms control, 1479
friend-foe relationship, 1453
instability of, 1320
stable deterrence, 1273
See also Strategy
DEVELOPING STATES
arms and armaments, 1423
military role, 1318
superpower competition, 1406
world order, 1058
DIPLOMACY, Communist Chinese "popular diplomacy" with Japan, 1091
DISENGAGEMENT
U.S. from
Europe, 1335
Southeast Asia, 1441
DOD SPONSORED RESEARCH AT STANFORD [STANFORD WORKSHOP ON POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES], 1346
DRAFT. See under Military service

E

EARTHQUAKES, discrimination from underground explosions, 1531, 1534-1535, 1541
EAST-WEST RELATIONS, 1048, 1053, 1060, 1290
European economic ties, 1050
force relationships, 1297
EAST-WEST RELATIONS--Continued
superpowers in Europe, 1043
See also Détente
ELECTRONIC BATTLEFIELD, 1241
EUROPE
balance of power, 1413
force relationships, 1297
integration, 1028, 1066, 1082, 1486-1487, 1511
Council of Europe, 1516
East-West economic relations, 1050
nuclear aspects, 1258
nuclear balance, 1254
tactical nuclear weapons, 1233
security in, 1133, 1145, 1182, 1245, 1247, 1257, 1277, 1490, 1495, 1499, 1501, 1504-1505, 1508, 1515, 1517
British role, 1489
détente influence, 1037
economic cooperation, 1513
European Economic Community, 1521
European security pact (proposed), 1500
Germany, 1506
integration prospects, 1491
Nordic States, 1302
renunciation of force, 1497
Soviet view, 1492
Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, 1477
tactical nuclear arms limitation, 1480
Western European confederation, 1110
Soviet intentions on arms limitation, 1074
Soviet-U.S. relations, 1043
U.S. troop withdrawals, 1103, 1253, 1282
EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, 1082, 1110, 1486
aerospace industry, 1214
expanded political role, 1143
world order, 1521
EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE (PROPOSED), 1066, 1110, 1182, 1290, 1320, 1484-1485, 1488, 1496, 1499, 1501-1502, 1504-1505, 1508-1509, 1517, 1520
game plan, 1510
Germany, 1506
mutual and balanced force reduction, 1495, 1514
Polish view, 1519
popular support, 1502
Pugwash endorsement, 1134
renunciation-of-force agreement, 1497
Romanian view, 1133
Soviet view, 1492
Warsaw Pact declaration, 1488
West German view, 1143, 1493
See also Mutual and balanced force reduction
EUROPEAN SECURITY COUNCIL (PROPOSED), 1515

F

FLEXIBLE RESPONSE, 1425
FOREIGN POLICY
decisionmaking simulations, 1201
verbal strategy, 1243
FRANCE
arms trade and dissemination of missiles, 1207
nuclear policy and programs, 1263
strategic missile program, 1204

G

GAMES AND GAMING
  conflict resolution, 1401
  European security conference (proposed), 1510
  foreign policy decisionmaking, 1201
  international relations, 1032
  mixed-motive bargaining, 1442
GASBUGGY PROJECT, 1219
GENOCIDE, 1033
GENERAL AND COMPLETE DISARMAMENT, 1299, 1412, 1431-1432, 1434
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
  foreign policy and relations, 1152
    peace program, 1457
    U.N. admission, 1381
GERMANY
  enemy-state clauses, 1363
  postwar history, 1177
  reunification, 1073, 1088
  settlement, 1506, 1517
GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF
  armed forces
    combat mission, 1309
    conscientious objection, 1231
    policy of aggression, 1238
  defense policy and programs, 1255
    burden sharing, 1319
    White Paper (1970), 1249
  foreign policy and relations
    Asian and Pacific areas, 1144
    Communist China, 1095
    East Germany, 1083
    Ostpolitik, 1073, 1085, 1094, 1165
    United Nations, 1093
  rearmament, political implications, 1270
GREAT BRITAIN. See United Kingdom

H

HERBICIDES, Vietnam war, 1475

I

ICELAND, NATO policy, 1251
INDIA
  Chinese Communist intervention, 1284
  foreign policy and relations, 1076, 1131
    Communist China, 1183
    friendship treaty with Soviet Union (1971), 1098, 1125
    Pakistan, 1189-1190
  nuclear policy and programs, 1466-1467
    weapons acquisition, 1464
INDIAN OCEAN AREA
  U.N. neutralization resolution (1971), 1437
  Sino-Soviet competition, 1166
  Soviet naval penetration, 1269
INSPECTION AND VERIFICATION, 1411, 1416, 1539
  detection
    comprehensive test ban treaty (proposed), 1548
    underground nuclear explosions, 1531-1532, 1534-1535, 1537-1538, 1541
  safeguards, 1468, 1470
  satellites, 1533
INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE, 1385
INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT ORGANIZATION (PROPOSED), 1533
INTERNATIONAL LAW, 1067, 1362, 1372, 1374
  belligerent reprisals, 1369
  bibliography, 1030
  chemical and biological agents, 1471
  conflict management, 1361
  decisionmaking in the United Nations, 1373
  economic intervention, 1406
  International Peace Court (proposed), 1368
  law of armed conflict and responsibility for application, 1365
  military uses of space, 1530
  ocean and seabed, 1522, 1525
  order vs. justice, 1397
  Ostpolitik, significance in international law, 1094
  peaceful coexistence, 1394
  prisoners of war, 1370
  role in maintaining peace, 1364
  treaties, outline of, 1366
  war, 1367
  world order, 1371
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, 1067, 1386
  constitutions, outline of, 1366
  maintenance of peace, 1385
  nongovernment, 1378
  peace research, 1382
  regional, 1378
  world government, 1376
INTERNATIONAL PEACE COURT (PROPOSED), 1368
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, 1029, 1040, 1061, 1067-1068, 1390, 1551
  assimilation of defeated hegemonic states, 1545
  bibliography, 1030
  history, 1056
  simulations, 1032
  study and teaching
    peace education, 1407
    peace research, 1057
  U.S. research policy, 1154
  world order, 1034, 1069
    order vs. justice, 1397
INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS, 1065
INTERVENTION, 1132
  economic aid,, 1406
ISRAEL
  foreign policy and relations
    United States, 1147
    world image, 1167

J

JAPAN, 1044
  commerce with Communist China, 1097
  defense policy and programs
    Maritime Self-Defense Force, 1230
    militarization, 1240
  foreign policy and relations, 1072
    Soviet Union, 1164
    United States, 1104, 1160
JORDAN, army reorganization, 1168

K

KASHMIR DISPUTE, 1190
KOREA, reunification, 1181, 1446

KOREA, REPUBLIC OF
foreign policy and relations, 1126
U.N. membership, 1380
KRIEGSFOLGEN UND KRIEGSVERHÜTUNG [KARL F. FREIHERR VON WEIZSÄCKER], 1320

L

LEAGUE OF NATIONS, 1385
LIMITED MEASURES, 1468
history (1945-1970), 1412
Soviet intentions on arms limitation, 1074
LONDON NAVAL TREATY (1936), William H. Standley, 1409

M

MALIK, JAKOB A., 1383
MAO, TSE-TUNG, 1139
MEDITERRANEAN AREA, 1512
arms control, 1503
balance of power, 1172
Soviet policy, 1310
MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA
Arab-Israeli dispute, 1141, 1185, 1187
balance of forces, 1191
peace research theory, 1175
public opinion, 1167
settlement, 1184
Soviet Union, 1174, 1186
U.S. interest, 1171, 1176
Jordan, 1168
Soviet Union, 1173, 1178
U.S. relations, 1127, 1147
MILITARISM
Christianity, 1062
Greece, 1330
Latin America, 1289
United States, 1315
MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX
American Security Council, 1344
South Africa, 1307
United States, 1315
Soviet criticism, 1360
West Germany, 1238
MILITARY POWER, domestic determinants, 1298
MILITARY PROFESSION
sociological analysis, 1259
Soviet Union, 1236
MILITARY SERVICE
conscientious objection, 1231
Switzerland, national service for women (proposed), 1264
United States, manpower procurement policy (1945-1970), 1248
MISSILES
antiship countermeasures, 1218
France, 1204, 1463
trade and dissemination, France, 1207
U.S. Short Range Attack Missile (SRAM), 1221
See also Antimissile defense systems
MONGOLIA, Sino-Soviet relations, 1146
MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES, 1261, 1272, 1429, 1482
MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTION, 1252, 1290, 1420, 1425, 1485, 1490, 1496, 1498, 1501, 1517-1518, 1520
bibliography, 1494
MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTION--Continued
European security conference (proposed), 1495
Germany, 1506
history, 1414
U.S. policy, 1130
Western European apprehension, 1514

N

NATIONALISM, Germany, 1177
NAVIES
Japan, 1230
Soviet Union, 1285
United States, 1274
NEUTRAL STATES, Swedish-Swiss-Austrian arms pool (proposed), 1458
NEUTRALITY, 1037
NEUTRALIZATION
Indian Ocean, U.N. resolution (1971), 1437
Mediterranean area, 1512
NEGOTIATION AND ARBITRATION OF DISPUTES, 1551
NEGOTIATIONS, 1451
arms control and disarmament summary, 1430
assimilation of defeated hegemonic states, 1545
certainty-equivalent model, 1452
Korean reunification, 1446
London Naval Treaty (1936), William H. Standley role, 1409
mixed-motive bargaining, 1442
power balance, 1456
prisoners of war, 1356
simulations, 1417
Soviet Union, 1450
NEW ZEALAND, foreign policy and relations, 1121-1122
NEW ZEALAND INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ANNUAL CONFERENCE (1969), 1122
NIGERIA, civil war (1967-1970), 1462
NIXON DOCTRINE, 1145, 1441
NONVIOLENCE, national defense, 1402
NORTH, ROBERT, 1038
NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION, 1253
air defense against low-level attack, 1283
burden-sharing, 1293, 1319
communications systems, 1448
defense policy and programs
mutual and balanced force reduction, 1252
strategy, 1247, 1277
Iceland, 1251
nuclear weapons, tactical, 1254
nuclear weapons, use, 1233
Senator Mansfield on troop cuts, 1282
U.S. Air Forces in Europe (USAFE), 1244
U.S. international economic position, 1335
U.S. policy and role, 1145, 1259-1260, 1278, 1314
NUCLEAR BALANCE, Europe, 1254
NUCLEAR ENERGY
peaceful uses
Plowshare, 1222
safeguards. See under Inspection and verification
NUCLEAR ESCALATION, prevention, 1309
NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS
effects, 1205, 1327, 1343, 1536

NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS--Continued
effects--Continued
Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission bibliography, 1316
peaceful uses, 1217
gas stimulation, 1219, 1354
radiation estimation, 1203
NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS, UNDERGROUND
Cannikin, 1534
detection and measurement, 1531-1532, 1535, 1537-1538
in dolomite, 1540
Packard effects test, 1224
peaceful uses
Plowshare Project, 1223
seismic damage estimation, 1216
United States, 1222
NUCLEAR FORCES, Anglo-French (proposed), 1258
NUCLEAR-FREE ZONES
inspection and verification by satellite, 1533
Latin America, 1438
NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION TREATY. See under Proliferation of nuclear weapons
NUCLEAR REACTORS, breeder, 1209
NUCLEAR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, Communist China, 1227
NUCLEAR STRATEGY, 1299
France, 1263
U.S. nongovernment strategists, 1268
NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY
extension to underground testing, 1534-1535, 1538-1539, 1541, 1548-1549
U.N. draft resolution, 1544
NUCLEAR TESTING, United States, 1222
NUCLEAR WAR
effects, 1331, 1342
Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission bibliography, 1316
Europe, 1511
NUCLEAR WEAPONS
Atomic Energy Commission budget (FY 1973), 1228
Communist China, 1242, 1246
India, 1466
limitation on tactical nuclear arms in Europe, 1480
NATO tactical use, 1233
reduction or elimination, 1411
seismic effects, 1211
United States, 1222
appropriations (FY 1973), 1198
nongovernment strategists, 1268
NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTS
effects, 1351
ocean and seabed, 1337
radioactive fallout, 1326, 1333, 1352

O

OCEAN, 1528-1529
legal control of new technology, 1522
peaceful uses, 1362, 1525
research, 1199
U.S. policy, 1526-1527
ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, developments (1971), 1388
OUTER SPACE TREATY (1967), 1523, 1530

P

PAKISTAN
foreign policy and relations, 1148
Indo-Pakistani conflict (1971), Communist China, 1189
PASSIVE RESISTANCE. See Nonviolence
PEACE
achievement and maintenance, 1436
conflict management, 1361
International Peace Court (proposed), 1368
approaches, 1197, 1398, 1406-1407, 1432, 1546
bibliography, 1030
challenges, 1511
international law, 1371, 1374
Roman Catholic Church role, 1403
Soviet proposals, 1552
world government, 1376
PEACE MOVEMENT, drug use and peace attitudes in the United States, 1399
PEACE RESEARCH, 1038, 1045, 1057, 1372, 1400
Arab-Israeli dispute, 1175
conflict sociology, 1049
disarmament, 1440
European cooperation, 1487
historical approach, 1550
international organization and war, 1382
methodology, 1039
psychiatric contribution, 1404
social change, 1405
study and teaching, 1407
war, causes of, 1196
PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, United Nations, 1394
PEACEKEEPING FORCES
United Nations
Communist China stand, 1395
Cyprus (1966-1968), 1396
financing, 1387
PENTAGON PAPERS, 1339
PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE (1920-1945), 1385
PLOWSHARE, PROJECT, 1222-1223
POLAND, European security conference (proposed), 1519
POLITICAL SCIENCE, revolutionary model, 1035
POWER (CONCEPT), 1029
PRISONERS OF WAR, 1356
PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, 1025, 1469
civil nuclear programs, role, 1470
India, 1464, 1466-1467
Nonproliferation Treaty, 1468
Switzerland, 1465
See also Inspection and verification
PUBLIC OPINION
American Security Council, 1344
armament technology, 1245
drug use and peace attitudes in the United States, 1399
foreign news, 1063
peace opportunities, 1034
world situation in 2000 A.D., 1432
PUGWASH CONFERENCE ON SCIENCE AND WORLD AFFAIRS, 21ST (1971), 1134

R

RADIATION
biological effects, 1317

RADIATION--Continued
nuclear excavation, 1217
RADIOACTIVE FALLOUT, 1333-1334
distribution, 1326, 1347, 1352
effects, 1340, 1351
ocean and seabed, 1337
underground nuclear explosions, peaceful uses, 1203
REARMAMENT, West Germany, 1270
REGIONALISM, 1065
Southeast Asia, 1507
RELIGION, effect on militarism, 1062
REVOLUTION, permanent model, 1035
ROMANIA
foreign policy and relations
Communist countries, 1096
security in Europe, 1133

S

SAFEGUARDS. See Inspection and verification--safeguards
SATELLITES, 1213
inspection and verification, 1533
SCANDINAVIAN STATES, security needs, 1302
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, 1353, 1362
Communist China, 1227
control, 1200
SCIENTIFIC-MILITARY RELATIONS, 1322, 1332, 1353
SCIENTISTS
moral responsibility, 1353
U.S. disarmament role, 1428
SEABED, 1529
Arms Control Treaty (1971), 1524
international control on use, 1525
legal control of new technology, 1522
U.S. policy, 1526-1527
SEAPOWER
United States, 1256
tactical deterrence, 1300
SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL, 1257
SECURITY, REGIONAL, Mediterranean area, 1512
SEISMOLOGICAL RESEARCH, 1532, 1535, 1537
detection. See Nuclear explosions, underground--detection and measurement
SELECTIVE SERVICE. See under Military service
SIMULATIONS, disarmament negotiations, 1417
SOCIAL SCIENCE, 1405
nongovernment nuclear strategists, 1268
U.S. foreign affairs research, 1154
SOUTH AFRICA, REPUBLIC OF
defense industry, 1307
strategic value, 1276
SOUTH AMERICA
arms sales, 1266
nuclear-free zone, 1524
power relationships, 1105
SOUTHEAST ASIA
regional cooperation, 1507
United States, 1120, 1235
SPACE
international cooperation, 1523
peaceful uses, 1362, 1530
STANDLEY, WILLIAM H., London Naval Treaty (1936), 1409
STANFORD WORKSHOP ON POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES, 1346
STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, 1025, 1140, 1247, 1290, 1320, 1415, 1425, 1427, 1429, 1431, 1477-1479, 1481
antimissile defense systems, U.S. policy, 1229
history, 1414
inspection and verification, Soviet-U.S. satellite inspection system (proposed), 1533
joint communique (sixth round), 1483
relationship to Nonproliferation Treaty, 1465
Soviet-U.S. Direct Communications Link Improvement Agreement (1971), 1523
U.S. policy, 1129-1130, 1482
European security, 1517
STRATEGIC BALANCE, 1054
multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles, 1261, 1482
STRATEGY
Communist China, 1267
Japanese Navy, 1230
NATO, 1233
Sino-Soviet, 1047
Soviet Union, 1243, 1275
Mediterranean area, 1310
superpower options, 1273
United States, 1193, 1271
comparison with Soviet Union, 1243
conventional forces, 1232
naval forces, 1256
Soviet criticism, 1292
tactical deterrence, 1300
vs. Soviet Union, 1478
SURPRISE ATTACK CONFERENCE, GENEVA (1958), 1533
SURVIVAL, 1331
SWEDEN
aircraft industry, 1202
armed forces, 1296
military autarky, 1458
SWITZERLAND
national defense planning, 1298
national service for women (proposed), 1264
Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (1968), 1465
SYMPOSIUM ON THE INTERNATIONAL REGIME OF THE SEA-BED, ROME (1969), 1529

T

TACTICAL NUCLEAR ARMS LIMITATION, 1480
TAIWAN, economic cooperation with Communist China, 1080
TANKS, 1210
TREATIES, AGREEMENTS, ETC.
arms control and disarmament (1970), 1415
Berlin Quadripartite (1971), 1055, 1182, 1449
Direct Communications Link Improvement (1971), 1523
Indo-Soviet Friendship (1971), 1098, 1125
Moscow (1970), 1094
Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons (1968), 1468
Outer Space (1967), 1530

TREATIES, AGREEMENTS, ETC.--Continued
Seabed Arms Control (1971), 1524
Warsaw (1970), 1094

U

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
armed forces
decisionmaking, 1211
maneuvers, 1275
Navy, 1269, 1274, 1285
civil-military relations, 1236
weapons and equipment, 1225
defense policy and programs
civil defense, 1237, 1250
implications, 1262
Indian Ocean area, 1276
Mediterranean area, 1310
strategic posture, 1301
strategic weapons, 1272, 1418
strategy, 1243, 1275, 1310
vs. United States, 1274, 1451
defense spending, 1279
disarmament policy and proposals, 1421-1422, 1552
strategic arms limitation, 1427, 1431
world disarmament conference, 1434
exchange agreements with Canada, 1106
foreign policy and relations, 1136
Africa, 1087
Arab-Israeli dispute, 1101, 1186
Arab States, 1071, 1117, 1173
Communist China, 1075, 1166, 1170
Communist Chinese view, 1383
Europe, 1043
expansionism, 1163
Japan, 1164
Middle East, 1174, 1178
Mongolia, 1146
operational principles and negotiations, 1450
Sino-American rapprochement, 1099
Sino-Soviet dispute, 1070
India, 1098
24th Party Congress, 1074
United States, 1078, 1140, 1456
Western Europe, 1046, 1114
release of Jews and Middle East crisis, 1185
UNITED KINGDOM
aerospace industry, 1214, 1220
foreign policy and relations, 1025
Europe, 1489
Western Europe, 1311
seapower, 1276
UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT, 1058
UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION, 1377
Afro-Asian states, 1067
Communist China, 1077, 1089-1090, 1375, 1383
conflict resolution, 1436
criticism, 1390-1391
decisionmaking, 1373
delegation subsidy, 1379
disarmament policy and proposals
chemical and biological weapons draft ban, 1472
history (1945-1970), 1412
nuclear-free zone, 1438
UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION--Continued
disarmament policy and proposals--Continued
nuclear test ban treaty, draft resolution, 1544
outer space, 1523
satellite inspection system, 1533
world disarmament conference (proposed), 1433
East German membership, 1381
enemy-state clauses, 1363
German membership, 1143
Indian Ocean neutralization, 1437
membership of divided states, 1380
peaceful coexistence, 1394
peacekeeping forces, financing, 1387
peacekeeping operations, Cyprus, 1395-1396
Secretary-General, 1389
United States policy and role, 1384, 1392
voting reform, 1393
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1473
air defense system, 1303-1304
antimissile defense system, policy history (1944-1970), 1229
armed forces, 1295
Air Force, Europe (USAFE), 1244
all-volunteer, 1259
manpower (FY 1972), 1305
manpower procurement policy (1945-1970), 1248
National Guard, 1265
Navy role in 1970's, 1256
unification, 1287
Vietnam war phasedown, 1359
arms trade and dissemination, Latin America, 1266
Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1523
seismic research responsibility, 1532
Atomic Energy Commission
appropriations (FY 1973), 1198
authorization (FY 1972), 1222
budget (FY 1973), 1228
civil-military relations, 1315, 1329
Communist strategy, 1047
Congress in foreign affairs, 1151
decisionmaking in Vietnam war, 1153, 1339
defense spending, 1280, 1336, 1350
effect on Maryland, 1543
GAO profits study, 1357
international economic position, 1335
defense cutbacks, effect, 1542
defense policy and programs
arms race, effect on, 1429
chemical and biological agents, 1471, 1475
electronic battlefield, 1241
ground forces deployment, 1232
history (1945-1970), 1418
Kissinger-Nixon doctrine, 1234
NATO, 1233, 1247, 1278
Single Integrated Operational Plan, 1271
Soviet criticism, 1292, 1360
Soviet Union, 1451
strategic weapons, 1272-1273, 1301
strategy. See Strategy--United States
tactical deterrence, 1300
troop-stationing costs, 1319
troop withdrawal, Europe, 1253
Dept. of Defense communications systems, 1454

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA--Continued
defense research and development, 1215, 1346
disarmament policy and proposals, 1130, 1415, 1421-1422, 1431
biological and chemical weapons, 1472
comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, 1539
scientists' role, 1428
seabed and ocean policy, 1524, 1526-1527
strategic arms limitation. See Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
world disarmament conference (proposed), 1433
economic conversion, 1321
foreign aid policy, 1077
foreign policy and relations, 1025, 1027, 1055, 1112, 1124, 1129, 1138, 1149, 1161
administration, 1115
Arab-Israeli dispute, 1176
Australia, 1107
Communist China, 1054, 1079, 1081, 1100, 1108, 1111, 1113, 1116, 1142, 1150, 1169
Communist world, 1026
criticism, 1119, 1132
decisionmaking, 1109, 1135, 1153, 1201, 1256, 1339
Europe, 1043
Government-sponsored research, 1154
Indo-Pakistani war, 1141
Japan, 1104, 1118, 1160
Latin America, 1105
Middle East, 1147, 1171
Nationalist China, 1155
negotiations with Soviet Union, 1450
Nixon Doctrine, 1120, 1441
nonrecognition of Communist China, history, 1091
North Africa, 1127
President Nixon's trip to Communist China, 1128
Secretary of State Report (1971), 1159
Soviet Union, 1078, 1140, 1456
United Nations, 1067, 1375, 1384, 1393
Vietnam, 1162
military aid, 1459
economic impact and cost, 1358
vessel loans, 1306
missiles, Short Range Attack Missile (SRAM), 1221
nuclear policy and programs
Project Plowshare, 1223
nongovernment strategists' role, 1268
President
decisionmaking, 1109
war powers, 1288, 1291, 1312
troop withdrawals, Europe, 1103, 1314
United Nations, role in, 1391
Vietnam war, 1325
Nixon peace proposal, 1447
proposed legislation, 1455
war powers act (1971), 1157-1158
weapons development (1972), 1212
world status, 1179
World War II, effect, 1341

V

VIENNA CONFERENCE ON EUROPEAN COOPERATION AND SECURITY (1968), 1487

VIETNAM WAR
chemical agents, 1471, 1475
Communist view, 1349
descriptive language, 1323
escalation, 1443
history, 1339
human resources, cost, 1328
Kissinger-Nixon doctrine, 1234
legal aspects, prisoners of war, 1370
psychiatric casualties, 1348
settlement, 1355, 1444
Nixon proposal, 1447
United States, 1162, 1235
decisionmaking, 1153
legislation (proposed), 1455
military phasedown, 1359
prisoners of war, 1356
public opinion, 1325
termination effects on the economy, 1345
withdrawal, 1156, 1441
withdrawal and electronic weapons, 1194
VIOLENCE, nonviolence, 1402

W

WAGON WHEEL PROJECT, 1354
WAR
causes, 1195, 1197
effects on United States, 1338
human resource cost of Vietnam war, 1328
International Peace Court (proposed), 1368
legal aspects, 1365, 1367
moral and ethical aspects, 1324
peace research, 1382
psychiatric casualties, 1348
study and teaching, 1372
termination, 1196, 1445
See also Nuclear war
WARFARE
bibliography, 1192
chemical agents use in Vietnam, 1475
electronic battlefield, 1194, 1241
legal aspects of belligerent reprisals, 1369
WARSAW TREATY (1970), 1094, 1182
WARSAW TREATY ORGANIZATION
arms and armaments, 1225
European security conference (proposed), 1488
military exercises, 1281
mutual and balanced force reduction, 1252
WEST GERMAN-SOVIET RENUNCIATION-OF-FORCE AGREEMENT (1970), 1094, 1182, 1485
WESTERN COUNTRIES, Communist strategy, 1047
WESTERN EUROPE
arms race effects, 1426
nuclear force, 1258
Soviet threat, 1046
WILSON, WOODROW, on disarmament, 1410
WOODS HOLE CONFERENCE (1970), 1534
WORLD DAY OF PEACE, 1403
WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (PROPOSED), 1433-1434
WORLD GOVERNMENT, 1376
WORLD ORDER, 1069, 1371-1372
assimilation of defeated hegemonic states, 1545

WORLD ORDER--Continued
order vs. justice, 1397
WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW CONFERENCE (FIFTH), 1374
WORLD WAR II, effect on United States, 1341
WRIGHT, QUINCY, bibliography, 1372

Y

YUGOSLAVIA
foreign policy and relations, 1092
military maneuvers, 1313
nationalism, 1188

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1972 O 468-782